Recovering Jewish Spain:
Politics, Historiography and Institutionalization of the Jewish Past in Spain (1845-1935)

Michal Rose Friedman

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is a study of initiatives to recover the Jewish past and of the emergence of Sephardic Studies in Spain from 1845 to 1935. It explores the ways the Jewish past became central to efforts to construct and claim a Spanish *patria*, through its appropriation and integration into the nation's official national historical narrative, or *historia patria*. The construction of this history was highly contentious, as historians and politicians brought Spain's Jewish past to bear in debates over political reform, in discussions of religious and national identity, and in elaborating diverse political and cultural movements. Moreover, it demonstrates how the recovery of the Jewish past connected—via a Spanish variant of the so-called "Jewish question"—to nationalist political and cultural movements such as Neo-Catholicism, Orientalism, Regenerationism, Hispanism, and Fascism. In all of these contexts, attempts to reclaim Spain's Jewish past—however impassioned, and however committed—remained fractured and ambivalent, making such efforts to "recover" Spain's Jews as partial as they were compromised.

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Dedication

To the Memory of Nina Marshak Papirmacher

Vilna, August 20, 1922—Haifa, June 21, 2011

An exemplary grandmother and true woman of valor

Introduction

This dissertation is a study of initiatives to recover the Jewish past and of the emergence of Sephardic Studies in Spain from 1845 to 1935. On a deeper level, this study demonstrates the ways the Jewish past became central to efforts to construct and claim a Spanish *patria*, through its appropriation and integration into the nation's official national historical narrative, or *historia patria*. The construction of this history was highly contentious, as historians and politicians brought Spain's Jewish past to bear in debates over political reform, in discussions of religious and national identity, and in elaborating diverse political and cultural movements. In all these contexts, attempts to reclaim Spain's Jewish past—however impassioned, and however committed—remained fractured and ambivalent, making such efforts to "recover" Spain's Jews as partial as they were compromised.

Historians of the Jews have illustrated compellingly the appeal of the modern historiographical enterprise for Jews engaged in the struggle for political emancipation and particularly, how the Iberian-Sephardic past loomed large in this pursuit.[1] My study expands on such work by suggesting the importance of modern Spain and modern Spanish historiography in the emergence of modern Jewish studies and historiography. The nineteenth-century Jewish *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Science of Judaism)[2] project remained an exclusively Jewish

[1]See for example Ismar Schorsch, *From Text to Context: the Turn to History in Modern Judaism* (Hanover, 1994), 71-92; Yosef Haim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (New York, 1989), 81-103 and Amos Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley, 1993).

[2]For scholarship on *Wissenschaft des Judentums* see Michael Meyer, *Response to Modernity: a History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Michael A. Meyer, "The Emergence of Jewish Historiography: Motives and Motifs," *History and Theory* 27 (1988): 160-175; Michael Meyer, "Jewish Scholarship and Jewish Identity: Their Historical Relationship in Modern Germany," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* 8 (1992): 181-193; Michael Brenner, *Prophets of the Past: Interpreters of Jewish History* (Princeton, 2010); and Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 81-103.

project given the limitations to which Jewish scholars in German society were subject and the disdain with which Jewish history was viewed by the larger society. The contemporaneous Spanish project of recovering the Sephardic past, however, was pioneered by non-Jewish Spanish scholars working within the framework of 'official' Spanish national history or *historia patria,* and with the support of 'official' Spanish scholarly and government institutions. This dissertation illuminates some of the ways nineteenth-century Jewish and Spanish historians and intellectuals built on each other's work, shared ideas, and came into conflict. It suggests how such exchanges contributed to the development of a connected, if more disturbing, Spanish elaboration of "Sephardic" versus "Jewish" tropes in which the Sephardic Jew was clearly presumed superior to other Jews due to his contact and in some cases mixing with Spaniards. The dissertation also aims at exploring and demystifying the allure of the Jewish past—or what historian Ismar Schorsch elegantly termed the "Sephardic Mystique"[3]—for Spanish scholars, politicians and other cultural agents, as well as for Sephardic Jews outside Spain's national borders, who also became involved in the construction of a Spanish *patria* through collaboration with Orientalist, Hispanist and Sephardist projects in Spain.

Throughout this study I explore the ways the Jewish past was appropriated for, and integrated into, Spain's *historia patria*, whether in the context of the struggle for and over the establishment of a Liberal constitutional polity, of debates over religious and national identity, or of ideological and political anxieties generated by the loss of Spain's colonial Empire and its perceived decline. I thus do not consider the scholarship alone, but rather contextualize my discussion of scholarly initiatives in a study of parliamentary debates, public political commentary, and local and national government sponsored Sephardist and philosephardic

[3]Schorsch, *From Text to Context*, 71-92.

campaigns designed to expand the political and cultural borders of Spain as documented in government reports, public commemorations of Sephardic historical figures, periodicals and film.[4]

By contextualizing scholarship in these terms, I demonstrate how the recovery of the Jewish past also connected—via what one may consider a Spanish variant of the so-called "Jewish question", albeit paradoxically in the absence of a significant Jewish population—to some of the major nationalist political and cultural movements and ideologies which took hold in nineteenth and twentieth-century Spain, from orientalism,[5] Regenerationism, Neo-Catholicism, and *Hispanidad* to Spanish Fascism. I hope to expose some of the ways the Jews and Jewish history figured into the emergent question of defining Spain and Spanishness, just as they did in emerging debates over national identity and the so-called 'Jewish Question' elsewhere in Europe. In the case of Spain, however, the paradoxical existence of such debate in the absence of a significant contemporary Jewish population suggests an enduring presence of Jews in the Spanish national imaginary, even four centuries after their expulsion in 1492. Moreover, the debates generated over questions of Jewish 'absence' and 'presence' in Spain proved unique in the contemporary European setting of secularized national ideologies. In Spain, by contrast, they were marked by a firmly Catholic nationalistic ideology and religious rhetoric even when tendered in opposition to clerical stances.

While both Arabism (the study of Arabic and the Moorish past) and Sephardic Studies (which in the Spanish case included Hebraism) proved attractive as well as problematic fields of

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[4]For discussion of different ideas regarding Spanish "decline" see Henry Kamen, "The Decline of Spain: A Historical Myth?," *Past and Present* 81 (Nov. 1978): 24-50; and Stanley Payne, *Spain: a Unique History*.

[5] For comparative discussions of the links between Orientalism, nationalism, and history see Edmund Burke III and David Prochaska, eds., *Genealogies of Orientalism: History, Theory, Politics* (Lincoln, 2008).

study for scholars preoccupied with Spanish nationalism, I demonstrate through this study how the recovery of the Sephardic past, and Jewish history more generally, presented a quite distinct set of issues to Spanish scholars, ones which remained characterized by a seemingly inescapable condition of ambivalence.[6] Jews and Muslims clearly share the condition of "otherness" in Spanish history, owing to their historical subjectivity as religious minorities and ultimate exclusion from Spanish society. I would argue, however, that the Muslim's role as both conqueror and conquered made this relationship somewhat more easily definable. Spaniards were able to view the Muslim as a military contender who was both savage and noble, depending on his position as conquered or conqueror. As Susan Martin-Márquez has noted with regard to the festivals of Moors and Christians (a tradition which dates back to the sixteenth century and continues to this day), "it may be argued that in the case of Spain, where the victims of exclusion had been "disappeared," that violence, by contrast, had to be staged and restaged in an ongoing effort to assert an always elusive national unity, founded as it was upon an absence."[7] The Jewish past, on the other hand, remained much more elusive, as the presence of the conversos served as a constant reminder of the very tenuousness of the idea of national unity. Moreover, the spectral presence of 'Jewishness,' via the figure of the converso, posited the 'Jew' as an internalized enemy, one that was inescapable and in some ways a necessary element in the construction of a Christian Spanish identity defined, in part, in opposition to the 'Jew.'

Ever since the publication of *Orientalism* by Edward Said in 1978, a litany of works has been published by followers and detractors on the importance of the Muslim Orient—and its

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[6] The immigration of North African Muslims to Spain in the last twenty years or so has however further problematized such acts of historical recovery in new ways. See Daniela Flesler, *The Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration* (West Lafayette, IN, 2008), and Susan Martin-Márquez *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (Yale, 2008).

[7] Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations,* 16.

very construction as an object of knowledge—to Western history.[8] Spain generally has been marginalized in studies on the topic, as have the Jews. In the European context, beginning in the eighteenth century, Spain became subject to romanticized and "orientalized" perceptions and representations, not least because of its multidenominational and particularly medieval, Moorish past. In considering this relational position of Spain to Europe, Alberto Medina has eloquently argued that "Spain is located in a colonial exteriority in relation to Europe, implying the need for a cultural 'conquest' that would civilize and modernize that backwardness. The colonial history of Spain is ironically inverted: the old metropolis is now the space of otherness."[9] While Spanish scholars had attempted to rectify such depictions, by the middle part of the nineteenth century these were also embraced and elaborated by Spaniards who sought to stake a claim for Spain in the unfolding of 'Western' civilization. It is in this context that I argue the Jewish past proved particularly attractive. As Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar have noted in their edited volume, *Orientalism and the Jews*, meant to redress this lacuna, "[c]entral to all debate on orientalism and the Jews is that, historically, Jews have been seen in the Western world variably and often concurrently as occidental *and* oriental." Moreover, they suggest that orientalism has been not only a modern "Western or imperialist discourse, but also a 'politico-theological,' Christian one."[10] I demonstrate that in the writings of Spanish orientalists who claimed the antiquity of Spain's Jewish roots, the position of the Jews as Europe's most "ancient citizens" seemed to afford them a foundational and often providential role in Spain, as well as one that could help to set Spain apart from its European counterparts. To claim Jewish exceptionalism

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[8] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York, 1978). For a critique of Said see for example Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and its Discontents*, (New York, 2006).

[9] Alberto Medina, "Through the Eyes of Strangers: Building Nation and Political Legitimacy in Eighteenth-Century Spain," in Benita Sampedro Vizcaya and Simon Doubleday eds., *Border Interrogations: Questioning Spanish Frontiers* (New York & Oxford, 2008), 148.

[10] Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar eds. *Orientalism and the Jews* (Brandeis, 2005), xiii-xiv. .

allowed Spaniards to advance a claim to Spanish exceptionalism; by being more Jewish, Spain seemed to become more European. Furthermore, I illustrate that for many Spanish Hebraists, the Jewish past served as a nexus between Muslim and Christian Spain in such a way meant to further buttress Christian Spain. It is my hope that this study will foster further dialogue between these two distinct projects of historical recovery.

Any discussion of the recovery of the Jewish past in modern Spain must begin by considering the wider context of Spanish-historical writing and the institutionalization of the discipline of history in modern Spain. Modern Spanish historical writing and studies emerged in close dialogue with critical trends in the broader landscape of European historical thought and the growth of academic institutions dedicated to the study of history. The decisive factor in the development of history as a scientific discipline was the rise of European nationalist thinking born of the Romantic movement's anti-universalist claims in the wake of the French Revolution. The universalism of the Enlightenment and the Revolution were now replaced with the idea of the uniqueness of national identities; the role of history was to trace the particular "authentic" trajectories of such identities back to a remote, primeval past. History thus served the construction of national traditions that were aimed (even if not always successfully or intentionally) at legitimating nation-states and their diverse territorial, political and cultural designs.[11] Recent work has, however, also indicated that European historiographical traditions (and their particular authors) were all positioned in relation to the nation-state, but often in conflicting ways, which might be better understood as "a multiplicity of historiographical

[11] Stefan Berger, "The Invention of European Traditions in European Romanticism"; Georg G. Iggers, "The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth-Century 'Scientific History: The German Model"; Gabriele Lingelbach, "The Institutionalization and Professionalization of History in Europe and the United States", in Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing Volume 4: 1800-1945* (Oxford, 2011), 19-96, and Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2003).

nationalisms (or antinationalisms), which changes over time, and which is constructed in particular historical contexts."[12]

By the second half of the nineteenth century, moreover, history—long the domain of clerics, amateurs and antiquarians, became a discipline in which historians could pursue salaried positions and professional trajectories. While historians have noted significant international cross-fertilization of historiographical traditions, the institutional roots of the professionalization of the historical discipline and its 'scientific' study (*Historismus,* most commonly translated as "historicism") have generally been traced to the university setting in German lands and particularly to historian Leopold von Ranke. The methodological revolution of the historical discipline, one closely connected to the development of philological studies, was marked by a focus on the idea of absolute historical objectivity based on intensive archival work and the critical examination of primary sources meant to prove the 'roots' of the nation, as well as by a narrative style that was meant to appeal to the reader in similar ways as a literary text. Finally, through such developments, European history came to be viewed as representing the pinnacle of human civilization—a Eurocentric history in which non-European peoples, with the exception of the classical civilizations, were either excluded or deemed lacking.[13]

In Spain, the transformation of historical writing and the process of the institutionalization of history as an academic discipline reflected these wider trends, yet played out within the particular context of the nineteenth century Spanish political landscape, European and Spanish perceptions of Spanish difference, and a long tradition of Spanish historical

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[12] Stefan Berger, Mark Donovan and Kevin Passmore eds., *Writing National Histories: Western Europe since 1800* (New York, 1999), 282 and Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz eds., *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe* (London & NY, 2010).

[13] Ibid.

writing.[14] A robust tradition of historical chronicle dates to the earliest days of medieval Spain, encompassing writings of classical and Christian tradition, monastic and royal histories.[15] Indeed, the medieval chronicles provided the foundation for a long lasting tradition of ecclesiastical and providentialist historical writing which generally served to record the events of Spain's kingdoms, kings and aristocracy,[16] most importantly Juan de Mariana's *Historia general de España*.[17] This tradition also established the foundation for powerful origin myths which became central to the construction of a national, albeit Castile-centric, historical narrative.[18]

It was only under the reformist Bourbon monarchy in the eighteenth century, however, that incipient attempts to institutionalize history as a profession in Spain took shape. Most notably, the Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History) was founded in 1738, through reforms that also brought about the opening of new archives and libraries, as well as the establishment of chairs of history at cultural institutions. Beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, with the reception of the ideas of the Enlightenment in Spain, numerous

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[14] In this dissertation I do not consider peripheral regionalist nationalisms (Catalonian, Basque, Galician, Asturian, etc.) and the place of the Jewish past in their historiographies—a subject worthy of further study.

[15] See Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993).

[16] See Xosé-Manoel Núñez, "Historical Writing in Spain and Portugal, 1720-1930," Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca, and Attila Pók, eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* Vol. 4 (1800-1945) (Oxford, 2011), 243-262.

[17] The earliest and most notable attempt to write something approximating a general history of Spain which served to demonstrate Spain's greatness, positing Castile as the Peninsula's unifying force within a providentialist framework, was made by the Jesuit scholar Father Juan de Mariana as early as 1592. Father Juan de Mariana first published his history in Latin (the first twenty one volumes) as *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri* beginning in 1592 and subsequently added ten additional books by 1605. He translated the entire work from the Latin to Spanish, first publishing it as *Historia general de España* in 1601 to be completed in 1609. The work represents the first general history of Spain since the medieval period and includes thirty volumes that span antiquity through the accession of Charles V in 1519. It was perhaps the most widely read Spanish historical work until the nineteenth century and had a great deal of influence on national historiography in the centuries following its publication.

[18] See Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations*; Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* and Jan Ifversen, "Myth in the Writing of European History" in Stefan Berger ed. *Writing National Histories*, 452-479 for a comparative European perspective.

histories of Spain and its possessions published within and outside the country began to appear. Such works presented a departure from the earlier ecclesiastical histories and reexamined many of the myths and legends to which earlier religious historians lent credence. Furthermore, works like Juan Francisco Masdeu's *Historia crítica de España y la cultura española* (1781) stressed the notion of a Hispanic 'people' inhabiting the Iberian Peninsula since antiquity.[19] Such studies laid the foundation for future inquiry and exploration of the makeup and contours of 'Spanish' or Hispanic identity as well as for methodological innovations in Spanish historical writing.

Interest and debate within Spain regarding the place of the Jews in Spain and Spanish history certainly predates the nineteenth century.[20] Discussion of the Jews in historical narratives published in Spain before the nineteenth-century presented accounts largely based on medieval and early modern mythology, rumor and stereotype, steeped in Christian interpretive traditions.[21] Even where the Jewish past appeared as a topic of historical or political debate, though, it generally served as an occasional point of reference in works addressing wider issues, rather than as a central theme or topic in its own right.[22] It should, however, be noted that in the sixteenth century, in the wake of the Spanish Expulsion of 1492, Sephardic exiles from Spain and Portugal and descendants of exiles authored major historical narratives connected directly or indirectly to

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[19] See Núñez, "Historical Writing in Spain and Portugal, 1720-1930," Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguashca and Attila Pók, eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* (New York, 2011), 243-262 and Jose Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*.

[20] I am not referring here to representations of Jews and conversos in Spanish literary works, a rich topic of study in its own right, but rather to literary, historical and political studies and debate regarding the place of Spain's Jewish past.

[21] See for instance, Francisco Martínez Marina, *Antigüedades hispano-hebreas, convencidas de supuestas y fabulosas: discurso histórico-crítico sobre la primera venida de los judios a España* (Madrid, 1796). For further discussion of such works see Shinan, Mi-de'ot kedumot el ha-mehkar ha-mada'i.

[22] An example of such earlier debate appear as early as the seventeenth-century in reformist *arbitrista* literature exploring the reasons for Spain's alleged economic decline, suggesting the expulsion of the Jews may have factored as one of the causes for said decline. On the *arbitristas* see John Elliot, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (Harmondsworth, 1970).

the expulsion and its aftermath.[23] Many of these works eventually would constitute the principal sources for nineteenth-century and twentieth-century historians (Jewish and Spanish alike) writing about Spain's Jewish past. Moreover, in the late medieval and early modern periods, Iberian universities established chairs and professorships for the teaching of Biblical Hebrew in support of Christian theological training. The emergence of literary and historical studies of the Jewish past, along with the study of Hebrew, as self-consciously modern subjects, however, only came about beginning in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century.

It was in this vein that in 1781—the same year Masdeu published the *Historia crítica de España*—José Rodríguez de Castro published *Biblioteca española*, *Tomo primero, que contiene la noticia de los escritores rabinos españoles desde la época conocida de su literatura hasta el presente*, documenting Spanish-Jewish as well as converso authors as part of a broader project cataloguing authors and works he deemed 'Spanish.'[24] While de Castro's scholarly focus on the Jews remained an isolated effort during this period, his study would become an important resource and point of reference for future scholars of Jewish Spain, while it also set a precedent by reconfiguring the vision of 'Spain' to incorporate the Jewish past. Later Spanish scholars would embrace these newly conceptualized boundaries to extend them beyond bibliographical research to create the first modern social and cultural histories of Spanish Jewry.

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[23] Some of these authors included Abraham Zacuto, Isaac Cardoso, Yehuda ibn Varga, Samuel Usque, Joseph Ha-Kohen, Elijah Capsali, and Gedaliah Ibn Yahia. For studies of several of these authors and their texts, see Yosef Haim Yerushalmi, *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the Shebet Yehudah* (Cincinnati, 1976), and *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto: Isaac Cardoso: a Study in Seventeenth-century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (New York, 1971), as well as Yerushalmi's discussion of these historical works in the context of Jewish memory and historiography in *Zakhor,* 57-75.

[24] José Rodríguez de Castro, *Biblioteca española: tomo primero, que contiene la noticia de los escritores rabinos españoles desde la época conocida de su literatura hasta el presente* (Madrid, 1781). De Castro drew upon Nicolás Antonio's study, *Bibliotheca hispana vetus* (Rome, 1696).

By the early nineteenth century, historical writing in Spain as well as literary studies—both regarding the Jewish past and more generally—became closely entwined with the emergence and construction of a modern nation-state.[25] Spain's *ancien regime* became increasingly unstable in the aftermath of the French Revolution and eventually came to an end after the French invasion and imposition of Napoleon's brother Joseph as King in 1808. Although some Spaniards favored French rule, the majority opposed it and united in defeating the French in what is known in Spain as the 'War of Independence' (1808-1814).[26] In 1810, Spanish Liberals convened a sovereign Constitutional Assembly in the southern city of Cadiz, and over the course of two years they drafted what would become the first constitution in the history of Spain. The new Liberal Constitution was issued on 19 March of 1812, and became the cornerstone for the future liberal Spanish state.[27] Once the war was won, Spaniards immediately plunged into a struggle between the absolutist supporters of the restored monarch, Ferdinand VII, and the Liberals who had authored the Constitution of 1812. The conflict lasted for about twenty five years, and was only settled after a seven year civil war, the First Carlist War (1833-1839), in which the Liberals defeated the supporters of Ferdinand VII's brother, Carlos.[28]

Beyond the dynastic conflict between Don Carlos and the king's declared successor, the Carlist war represented an ideological struggle. While the Liberals (save a minority radical contingency) did not question Spain's Catholic identity, keeping Catholicism as the state religion

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[25] On the importance of Spanish literary studies in the construction of the modern Spanish nation-state, see Wadda Ríos-Font, "National Literature in the Protean Nation: the Question of Nineteenth-Century Spanish Literary History", in Brad Epps and Luis Fernández Cifuentes eds. *Spain Beyond Spain: Modernity, Literary History, and National Identity* (Cranbury, NJ, 2005).

[26] On Spain's "War of Independence" of 1808 see Alvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, and Stanley Payne, *Spain: a Unique History*, 142-163.

[27] Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, 119-149 and Raymond Carr, *Spain 1808-1975* (Oxford, 1982), 79-115. See also Ramon Solis, *El Cádiz de las Cortes* (Madrid, 1987).

[28] Jordi Canal i Morell, *El carlismo: dos siglos de contrarrevolución en España* (Madrid 2000).

and maintaining the politics of national unification were contingent on religious unity, they believed the power and wealth of the Church needed to be curtailed. The Inquisition was thus suspended (only to be officially and finally abolished by decree in 1834); Church lands were disentailed and sold; limits were placed on the numbers of religious orders and regular clergy, and the state began to challenge the Church's role in education and welfare provision.[29] In response, the Carlists, monarchists and Catholic reactionaries, whose main strength lay in the Basque Provinces, engaged in a crusade against the assault of Liberals on the Church, on the monarchy and on the local-government privileges granted by medieval charters or *fueros*.[30] Although the Carlists were defeated by the Liberals, this ideological divide, which assumed different contours in different historical contexts, would continue to characterize Spanish politics well into the twentieth-century. The other major schism in nineteenth-century Spain was among Liberals themselves. Although Liberals agreed on the need for a constitutional polity, they were divided into two principal factions: the democratic *Progresistas* and conservative *Moderados*. Much of the rest of the century was marked by the struggle between these two groups and their supporters, often by means of *pronunciamientos* (literally, public 'pronouncements' of rebellion) which became the main instrument of political change during this period.[31] After several unsuccessful attempts to share power, the *Moderados* sought to consolidate their power by closely allying themselves with the Crown as well as through reconciliation with some of the more conservative elements in Spanish society.

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[29]The Inquisition had been abolished in February 1813, restored a year later and abolished for good by Royal Decree in July 1834. See Caesar Aronsfeld, *The Ghosts of 1492: Jewish Aspects of the Struggle for Religious Freedom in Spain, 1848-1976* (New York, 1979).

[30]Carr, *Spain*, 155-209 and William J. Callahan, "Church and State, 1808-1874," José Álvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert, eds., *Spanish History since 1808* (New York, 2000), 48-63.

[31] See Carolyn Boyd, "The Military and Politics, 1808-1874," Álvarez Junco and Shubert, eds., *Spanish History since 1808*, 64-78.

The definitive establishment of the Spanish liberal state by 1833 also brought about the professionalization of history writing in Spain, largely through the newly founded state's engagement in an extensive program of institution building and consolidation. The Real Academia de la Historia (which was reestablished in 1847) replaced the universities as the principal staging ground for the production of historical knowledge and served as the guardian of traditional political values.[32] In 1856, the establishment and consolidation of the Escuela Superior Diplomática served to educate future civil servants as archivists, librarians, and antiquarians, and in 1866 Spain's National Historical Archive was created. The state began to provide support to professional historians, who after 1870 were accorded titles as university professors.[33]

One important contributor to such developments was Krausist philosophy, which had its origins in German universities and became one of the major intellectual movements in nineteenth century Spain. Its inspiration, the German idealist philosopher Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1781-1832), advocated the reconciliation of faith and reason as well as the idea of universal progress through individual transformation based in universal values such as reason, truth, ethics, peace, justice, and universal solidarity. Its proponents asserted that God, intuitively known by conscience, is not a personality but an all-inclusive essence which contains the universe within itself. Spanish scholar Julián Sanz del Río, who had traveled to Germany in 1845 to study German philosophy and dedicated almost a decade to its study and translation into Spanish, began teaching Krausism in Spain when he obtained a position at the University of Madrid in

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[32] See Ignacio Peiró Martín, *Los guardianes de la Historia: la historiografía académica de la Restauración* (Zaragoza, 2006).

[33] Xosé-Manuel Núñez, "Historical Writing in Spain and Portugal, 1720-1930"; Peiró Martín and Gonzalo Pasamar Alzuria, *La Escuela Superior de Diplomática: (los archiveros en la historiografía española contemporánea)*, (Madrid, 1996).

1857. The principal disciple and disseminator of Krausism in Spain was Giner de los Ríos, founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (henceforth ILE) where many university professors and students were exposed to the pedagogical and philosephical principles of Krausism.[34]

In Spain, Krausism took the shape of what Hebe Clementi referred to as "very Spanish Liberal ideology": one that was liberal but not a-religious, refuting the institutions of the Monarchy, the Catholic Church and religious orthodoxy while not rejecting God. In fact, one of its principal slogans was "todo en Dios" (all is in God). Krausists conceived of the classroom as a cathedral, and the writings of leaders of the movement were characterized by a mystical spirituality, sometimes messianic in tone. The Liberal revolution of 1868 commonly known as "La Gloriosa" allowed for a wider dissemination of Krausism in the political and institutional life of Spain, and Spanish Krausist professors were at the forefront of the struggle for academic liberties in the classroom. In 1875, on the heels of the Bourbon Restoration, Giner and his liberal university colleagues throughout Spain were dismissed from their positions and either exiled or detained over issue of academic freedom and religious belief.[35] The ILE was thus conceived in 1876 as a response to a desire for intellectual regeneration, and the establishment of education free of religious and academic ties to the state.[36] Even as Krausism gained increasing influence

[34] Many of Spain's most celebrated intellectuals took part in the ILE and were influenced by Krausism, including Spain's most celebrated nineteenth century author Benito Pérez Galdós and Generation of '98 poet Antonio Machado.

[35] Hebe Clementi, "Sobre la formación de la ideología krausista en España", in David Willima Foster, Daniel Altamiranda, Carmen de Urioste eds., *Spanish Literature: A Collection of Essays,* Volume 1: *Current Debates on Hispanism* (New York & London, 2001), 87-104 and Gayana Jurkevich, Defining Castile in Literature and Art: *Institucionismo,* the Generation of '98, and the Origins of the Modern Spanish Landscape" in the same volume, 122-137.

[36] Ibid., also on the ILE see Antonio Jiménez Landi, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza*. *Período parauniversitario* (Madrid, 1987).

among Spanish intellectuals, the transformation of history into a professional and scientific discipline elsewhere in Western Europe—most notably, the emergence of the German model of positivism[37]—shaped the way the discipline of history evolved in Spain, leading historians to embark upon a quest for 'scientific objectivity', increasingly basing their research on a close reading of primary sources drawn from local and national archives.[38] Krausist thought in Spain was clearly marked by a concerted attempt to reconcile faith and science through means of a deterministic positivism which helped revolutionize scholarly inquiry in Spain in history and other fields.

In 1875, the Bourbons returned to the throne, ending the revolutionary sexennium (1868-1874) after a *pronunciamiento* orchestrated by military and civilian monarchists. Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (1828-1897), the politician who headed the Liberal Conservatives and engineered the restoration, devised a political system which sought to hold clashes between rival Liberal factions, as well as attacks from the far right and left, at bay.[39] He accomplished this by drawing up a Constitution which sought a compromise between the ideals of the *Moderado* Constitution of 1845 and those of the Liberal Constitution of 1869. Moreover, Cánovas organized two political parties, a liberal-conservative one and a liberal-progressive party which

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[37] The concept of Positivism was developed in the modern sense in the early nineteenth-century by the philosopher and founding sociologist, Auguste Comte (1798-1857) who used the term "positivism" to describe the use of scientific methods to uncover the laws according to which both physical and human events occur, condoning the scientific method as replacing metaphysics in the history of thought and the dependence of theory and observation in science. Émile Durkheim would later reformulate sociological positivism as one of the principal foundations of social research.

[38]See Georg Iggers, *The German Conception of History: the National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present* (Middletown, CT: 1983) and Stefan Berger,*Writing National Histories*.

[39]General Arsenio Martínez Campos had issued a *pronunciamiento* in the Mediterranean town of Sagunto against the Presidency of General Francisco Serrano, turning over power to military and civilian monarchists who orchestrated the return of the Bourbons to the throne. Cánovas del Castillo had been a leader of the Liberal Union (the party that had united moderates from the *Progresistas* and the *Moderados*) and head of the small Madrid based Alfonsist Party. He now headed the Liberal Conservatives, heirs to the *Moderados* and Liberal Unionists.

would alternate rule (known as the *turno pacífico*). The king was to act as arbiter, appointing governments alternatively representative of the two parties. Political stability depended on a tacit accord between Liberals and Conservatives to alternate in power and thrived on the practices of clientelism and *caciquismo*.[40]

Despite the façade of political stability, fundamental differences in the conceptualization of the State and rampant corruption scandals rendered the Restoration system precarious. As Carolyn Boyd has observed, the Constitutional monarchy viewed the Cortes and the king as the "internal Constitution" of Spain, placing the existence of the monarchy beyond political debate.[41] Moreover, while maintaining the individual rights of 1869 granting religious freedom, the constitution of 1876 declared Catholicism the State religion. The Conservatives thus embraced the equation of national identity and Catholic unity previously accepted by the *Moderados* while also limiting suffrage and imposing rigid controls on speech, press, education, assembly and oppositional parties. While the Catholic Union party recognized the new Constitution, the most reactionary Catholic parties, such as the Carlists, remained resistant to the new Liberal-Conservative order.[42]

It was against the backdrop of such political and intellectual developments that scholarly interest in writing Spanish national history intensified, as a corollary to the perceived need to define a Spanish "way of being", inspired by the broader trends of European nation building and

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[40] *Caciquismo* (derived from the Aztec word *cacique* meaning a chief) referred to a system of local political bossism. See Stephen Jacobson and Javier Moreno Luzón, "The Political System of the Restoration, 1875-1914: Political and Social Elites", José Álvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert, eds., *Spanish History since 1808* (New York, 2000), 93-109.

[41] Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria*: *Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton, 1997), 99-121.

[42] For the Constitution of 1876 and Conservative policies see Richard Herr, *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain* (Berkeley, 1971), 113-132. Also, see Jacobson and Moreno Luzón, "The Political System of the Revolution," 93-98 and Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 99-121.

innovations in philosophical and historical thought. Spanish political exiles, namely liberals who fled to France and England after the restoration of Ferdinand VII in 1814 were exposed to historical writings of the French Romantic tradition and German historicism, influences they brought to bear on the first modern Spanish national histories. Such was the case with Modesto Lafuente, whose multi-volume *Historia General de España* (1857-9) established him as the first national historian of modern Spain and founder of modern Spanish historiography and whose history was widely read by the Spanish bourgeoisie and intellectual elite.[43] Furthermore, in the first half of the nineteenth-century, French, English and German historians published a number of accounts that tended to foster exoticized and orientalized images of Spain, characterizing the country in terms of its presumed decadence and barbarism. Spanish liberal historians responded to this representation of Spain by foreigners by attempting to construct an image of Spain which affirmed national unity and independence; they authored their own histories of Spain, building upon the mythological and chivalresque accounts left by medieval historians and chroniclers, as well as upon the historiographical traditions of the Enlightenment.[44] The nationalist mythology constructed in these histories also served as a way of rallying support for the Liberal Spanish State by inculcating "patriotic virtues."[45] The Spanish modern historiographic project thus emerged from attempts to keep apace with wider European disciplinary innovations, as well as the desire to claim a unique and even foundational place for Spain within the unfolding of European or 'Western' history.

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[43] *Historia General de España*, 29 vols. (Madrid, 1850-67).

[44] Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, 199-200.

[45] Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 70-74, 80-81.

Within this nationalist mythology, Spain's medieval history, more than that of any other period, played a central role. According to its proponents, it was during the Middle Ages that Spain's national identity, along with its political institutions, national literature and language, art and music, was forged. Nonetheless, Spain's medieval history—notably its history of religious intolerance—presented particular difficulties for nationalist historians who attempted to establish Spain's national unity as well as reaffirm a Liberal agenda. [46] Thus, while these works embraced the Christian identity of Spain, they condemned or at the very least questioned the religious intolerance of the Church and the Inquisition as well as, to a somewhat lesser extent, that of the Catholic Kings. At the same time, they emphasized the spirit of tolerance and cultural ingenuity fomented by the likes of Alfonso X ("the Wise"). Another difficulty posed by this history was the irrefutable existence of a multi-ethnic past, marked by a Muslim presence of over eight hundred years and an even longer Jewish presence, dating back to Roman times if not earlier, as well as by the *convivencia* (loosely translated as "coexistence") of these two groups with Spanish Christians.[47]

The contributions of Spanish Arabists and Hebraists proved fundamental in engaging these tensions and thus in the ideological and cultural construction of Spanish nationalism under the auspices of the Liberal state.[48] Indeed, the Liberal state encouraged and supported the work of these scholars and the development of these disciplines through its sponsorship and

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[46] See Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria*, Ibid.

[47]The term "convivencia", originally applied by a school of Spanish historians to the relations of Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Spain, suggests mutual interpenetration and creative influence as well as mutual friction and rivalry. See Thomas Glick, "Convivencia: An introductory Note", Vivian B. Mann, Glick, and Jerilynn Dodds eds., *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York, 1992), 1-8 and David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*. See also, Jonathan Ray, "Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing our Approach to Medieval Convivencia", *Jewish Social Studies* 11.2 (2005): 1-18.

[48]See Rivière Gómez, *Orientalismo* y *Nacionalismo Español*.

subsidization of the recovery of medieval Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts from Spanish libraries**.** Such efforts also encompassed the recovery and preservation of Muslim and Jewish artistic and archeological monuments as symbols of Spain's national patrimony, bearing testament to the growing importance placed on the historical enterprise of recovering the 'origins' of the nation.[49] Such developments also connected directly to the rise of Liberal Arabism beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century, with its glorification of Muslim Spain and emphasis on "convivencia," constructed in large part in opposition to Conservative Arabism rooted in ideas of Iberian Christian purity.

The forging of what one may consider modern Jewish or Sephardic studies in Spain thus took place within the context of the emergence of history and literary studies as disciplines claiming scientific objectivity in Spain and as corollaries to the construction of a modern Liberal Spanish nation-state.[50] It is in this context that I examine scholarly initiatives (including published histories, journals, public speeches, sponsored research expeditions to Jewish archeological sites and their restoration, correspondence between Jewish and Spanish scholars and institutional developments) at Spain's Royal Academy of History and its affiliated institutions, as well as some of Spain's major universities and research centers.

It may be argued that it was the suppression and final abolition of the Inquisition in 1834 (a process which had originated with the debates over the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812) that indirectly and symbolically helped to usher in the emergence of the Jewish past as a modern

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[49]Ibid. and Eduardo Manzano Moreno and Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón, "A Difficult Nation: History and Nationalism in Contemporary Spain", *History and Memory* 14:1/2 (Fall 2002): 259-284.

[50] On the emergence of Hebrew as a modern rather than strictly theological subject in Spain see Pascual Pascual Recuero, "Gramáticas hebreo-españolas en el siglo XIX" *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos* 26:2 (Granada, 1977), 67-80; Riviére Gómez, *Orientalismo* y *Nacionalismo Español*; and David Wacks, **"**Is Spain's Hebrew Literatura 'Spanish'?", Adrienne L. Martin and Cristina Martínez-Carazo eds., *Spain's Multicultural Legacies—Studies in the Honor of Samuel G. Armistead* (Newark, DE, 2008), 315-331

subject of study in Spain.[51] It was in the years leading up to 1834, moreover, that Spanish political liberals Antonio Puigblanch and Antonio Llorente published the first histories of the Spanish Inquisition (1811 and 1817 respectively).[52] Highly critical of the Inquisition, both works documented the persecution of Jewish conversos by the Inquisition and the Church, as part of the authors' deliberate efforts to champion Liberalism, and advocate for the abolition of the Inquisition and disenfranchisement of the Church and the monarchy.[53] While highly polemical and partisan, these widely publicized works brought renewed attention to Spanish Jews and their descendants the conversos as iconic victims of a political system that a sector of Spanish Liberalism sought to overturn. Antonio Puigblanch moreover, published his work under the Hebrew pseudonym Natanael Jomtob, illustrating his identification with victims. The works caused quite a sensation, ultimately sending their authors into exile and inspiring a litany of works on the topic which remains controversial to our day.[54]

While the Jews and conversos had been a secondary concern in the greater scheme of such debates, their presence within a wider political and ideological conflict auguring seminal

[51]Moreover, as Andrew Bush has suggested, perhaps only the abolition of the Inquisition could eliminate, or at least mitigate, the threat that study of the Jewish past was tantamount to judaizing. See Andrew Bush, "Beginnings of Modern Jewish Studies in Spain", in Daniela Flesler, Tabea Linhard and Adrián Pérez Melgosa eds. "Revisiting Jewish Spain in the Modern Era", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* (2011), 20.

[52]José Antonio Llorente, *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne* (Paris, 1817); Natanael Jomtob (Antonio Puigblanch), *La Inquisicion sin máscara, o, disertación en que se prueban hasta la evidencia los vicios de este tribunal, y la necesidad de que se suprima* (Cádiz, 1811).

[53]See Nitai Shinan, Mi-de'ot kedumot el ha-mehkar ha-mada'i : toldot Yehude Sefarad bi-Yeme ha-Benayim be-kitve reshit ha-historyografyah ha-Sefaradit ben shanim 1759-1898 (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006) for further discussion of these texts.

[54] More contemporary debate over the Inquisition has in the main centered on questions over the intended purpose of the Inquisition, the severity of its penalizing measures in comparison to other contemporary judiciary and penal institutions and the reliability of inquisitorial sources, especially for the reconstruction of Marranism. See for instance Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: an Historical Revision* (London, 1997); Ben Zion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain, Second Edition* (New York, 1995) and Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain: From the Late 14th to the Early 16th Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources* (Ann Arbor, 1966). For some responses to Netanyahu see Gerson Cohen, "Review article: Netanyahu, B. The Marranos in Spain" *Jewish Social Studies* 29 (1967) and Ellis Rivkin *The American Historical Review* 72 (1967).

schisms in visions of a Spanish patria (ranging from traditional Catholicism, to moderate and conservative liberalism to secular Republicanism), should not be overlooked. Spanish historians who studied the Jewish past would turn to these earlier works to ponder their own often uneasy views on the Inquisition, as well as to correct them or refute them, whether openly in terms of political polemic, or under the pretext of a historical objectivity free of politics. Such debate thus constituted the tentative reopening of a wound that had been silenced and elided over the course of several centuries, ever since the expulsion of 1492, eliciting vital questions of the dialectic of Jewish 'absence' and 'presence' in the Iberian Peninsula since that time. While the Jews and normative Judaism had been expelled from Spain, it may be argued that Spain's 'Jewishness' and memory of the Jewish past had remained, even if was deeply suppressed. This continued 'presence' may to a large extent be attributed to the continued historical presence of the conversos well after 1492 and the suspicions of judaizing and perceptions of 'otherness' this presence continued to elicit.[55] The medieval and early modern solution to Spain's medieval "Jewish Question"—namely, conversion—essentially failed to resolve it and create the desired national 'unity.' If anything, the presence of conversos of Jewish descent further complicated such issues, as the converso occupied a more elusive liminal "in-between" place in Spanish society, one which could not be easily placed within the earlier neat theological categories of Christian and Jew.[56]

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[55] Examples of continued perceptions and accusations of judaizing in the Spanish political and cultural landscape (outside the tribunals of the Inquisition) may be found in some of the most prominent works of poetry, literature and theater of the Spanish Golden Age, as well as in political debate and exchange through the eighteenth century. See for example, Stephen Gilman's classic work, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas: the Intellectual and Social Landscape of La Celestina* (Princeton, 1972). On the history of the statutes of purity of blood see Albert A. Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts de pureté de sang en Espagne du XV au XVII siécle* (Paris, 1960) as well as Yosef Yerushalmi's analysis, *Assimilation and Racial-antisemitism*.

[56] For a compelling discussion of the marrano experience see Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi's classic study, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto: Isaac Cardoso; a Study in Seventeenth-century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (Seattle, 1971). On more recent approaches to marrano subjectivity see Yirmiyahu Yovel, *The Other*

The loss of most of Spain's overseas empire by 1898 represented an existential crisis for Spanish intellectuals and politicians who sought in distinct ways to restore Spanish influence through projects of national "regeneration" and neo-colonialism.[57] The anxieties generated by the loss of much of Spain's colonial empire, and its perceived decline by the latter part of the nineteenth century, also contributed to the rise of racialist thinking. As Joshua Goode has argued, during this period many racial theorists in Spain forged an identity centered on Spain's history of interethnic contact (or Iberian hybridity), claiming the "racial strength" of Spain was rooted in the ability of the "Spanish race" to fuse the different groups that coexisted on the Iberian Peninsula.[58] It was against this backdrop, and alongside the emergence of the parallel nationalist and transnationalist projects of *Hispanidad* and *Sefardismo*, that historians showed an increased interest in drawing upon the Jewish past to support such theories. The leading figure of Spanish political Sephardism was Ángel Pulido y Fernández, who began his career as an anthropologist and at the turn of the twentieth century turned to the social application of scientific ideas as he moved into governmental positions, including the director of public health. Pulido developed his ideas relating to race and racial fusion throughout his political career, especially after he became a permanent member of the Spanish Senate, which is precisely when he began his early twentieth century efforts—for which he is best known today—to repatriate

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Within: the Marranos Split Identity and Emerging Modernity (Princeton, 2009). For a persuasive discussion of Jewishness and liminality although in the Latin American context see Erin Graff Zivin, "The Scene of the Transaction: 'Jewishness,' Money and Prostitution in the Brazilian Imaginary," Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein eds., *Rethinking Jewish-Latin Americans* (Albuquerque, NM, 2008), 106-131 and Graff Zivin, *The Wandering Signifier: Rhetoric of Jewishness in the Latin American Literary Imaginary* (Durham, 2008).

[57]See Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire 1898-1923* (Oxford, 1997).

[58]See Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870-1930* (Baton Rouge, 2009), 1-19.

Jews of Spanish origin, the Sephardim, to Spain.[59] While the foundations for much of Pulido's arguments regarding the importance of recovering Spain's Sephardic legacy may be found in the earlier nineteenth century writings and debates explored in the dissertation, his honing of their racialist component had a clear impact on other lesser studied, though equally important—in our attempt to understand the reach of the movement—philosephardic efforts of the first third of the twentieth century, which include Republican and Fasicst expressions of Sephardism, as well as institutional developments in Sephardic Studies.

Spain's modern Catholic identity, coupled with the particular historical context of Jewish presence (via the conversos after 1492) and absence of a significant modern Jewish population in Spain (and general unfamiliarity with contemporary Judaism), generated a number of paradoxes in this process of recovery. Perhaps most striking, is the common discussion of the Jews and the Sephardic past in the abstract, as mere relics of the Spanish patria, ones to be found in dusty library tomes or reports of monuments commissions and archeological excavations, essentially suggesting that Spanish interest in the Jews was to be directed principally to the distant past. The paradox is amplified as such discourse was often elaborated when the very Spaniards engaged in this process of recovery simultaneously engaged in either debate, correspondence, reporting and even joint commercial and nationalist programs with living Jews.

Historians of Spain have produced a range of studies on the construction of the Spanish nation and the importance of history and historical recovery in this process.[60] In the main,

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[59] See Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood*, for a thorough analysis of Ángel Pulido's life and work on behalf of the Sephardim and the central place of his philosephardism in the history and development of racialist thought in Spain and Isabelle Rohr, "Spaniards of the Jewish Type", *Revisiting Jewish Spain*. For Pulido's own writing on the topic see *Los israelitas españoles y el idioma castellano* (Madrid, 1904) and *Españoles sin patria y la raza sefardí* (Madrid, 1905).

[60]See for example Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria*; Ignacio Peiró Martín, *Los guardianes de la historia*: *la historiografía académica de la Restauración* (Zaragoza, 1995); Carlos Dardé, *La idea de España en la historigorafía del siglo XIX* (Santander, 1999); Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón and Eduardo Manzano Moreno et al., eds.,

however, these works refer to the place of the Jewish past only in a cursory way.[61] The emergence of *Arabismo* (the modern study of Arabic language and the Muslim past in Spain) and its connection to questions of Spanish nationalism and identities, on the other hand, is well documented and has been the subject of significant scholarly attention.[62] My study of more or less contemporaneous efforts to recover Spain's Jewish past helps to place Spanish visions of the Muslim and Jewish past in dialogue with each other. Much attention has also been granted to the well known historiographical debate over Spanish history and the importance of "convivencia", centering on the works of the Spanish philologist and literary historian Américo Castro and the historian Claudio Sánchez Albornoz in the 1940s.[63] Scholarship on the relationship of modern Spain with the Jews has in the main tended to focus on Franco and the Jews, positing this relationship in positive or negative terms, while Spanish antisemitism and philosemitism have

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La gestión de la memoria (Barcelona, 2000); José Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa; la idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 2001); Mario Onaindía, *La construcción de la nación española: republicanismo y nacionalismo en la Ilustración* (Barcelona, 2002); Juan Pablo Fusi, *España: la evolución de la identidad nacional* (Madrid, 2000).

[61]Notable exceptions are Aurora Riviére Gómez, *Orientalismo* y *nacionalismo español: estudios árabes y hebreos en la Universidad de Madrid* (1843-1868), (Madrid, 2000) and Nitai Shinan, Mi-de'ot kedumot el ha-meḥkar ha-mada'i.

[62]See James Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (Sixteenth Century to the Present)* (Leiden, 1970); Manuela Manzanares de Cirre, *Arabistas españoles en el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 1972) and Aurora Riviére Gómez, *Orientalismo y nacionalismo*. For more recent work on the topic by Spanish scholars see Manuel C. Feria García and Gonzalo Fernández Parrilla, eds., *Orientalismo, exotismo y traducción* (Cuenca, 2000) and on Spanish Arabism and Orientalism from a cultural and performance studies perspective see Susan Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (New Haven, 2008).

[63]While Castro presented a vision of Spanish history rooted in Iberian cultural and racial hybridity involving the convivencia of Christians, Muslims and Jews, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz championed Spain's Christian heritage, representing Spain as an eternal unified Catholic entity. See Américo Castro, España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos (Buenos Aires, 1948) and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, España: un enigma histórico (Buenos Aires, 1956). For studies of their work and discussion of the debates see for example, Henri Lapeyre, "Deux interprétations de l'histoire d'Espagne: Américo Castro et Claudio Sánchez Albornoz," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 20:5 (1965): 1015-1037; J.N. Hillgarth, review of *Spain an Historical Enigma*, *American Historical Review* 83:2 (Apr. 1978): 455-456; and Ronald E. Surtz, Jaime Ferrán, Daniel P. Testa, eds., *Américo Castro, the Impact of His Thought: Essays to Mark the Centenary of his Birth* (Madison, 1988).

generally been studied in a similar vein.[64] In this dissertation I demonstrate the deeper roots of this relationship and the debate over the question of the 'Jewishness' of Spain.[65] Moreover, I illustrate that the recovery of the Jewish past in Spain was significantly more ambivalent than has generally been portrayed, suggesting how this ambivalence might have been a defining feature of Spanish Liberalism.

Chapter One of the dissertation ("Jewish History as 'Historia Patria:' José Amador de los Ríos and the History of the Jews of Spain") begins to explore some of these issues by discussing the work of one of the most seminal figures in any discussion of the emergence of the recovery of the Jewish past in Modern Spain: the prominent nineteenth-century Spanish historian and literary scholar José Amador de los Ríos (1818-1878), author of the first modern history of the Jews of Spain, the *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios de los judíos de España* (1848), later expanded as *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España* (1875-1876). Perhaps the most influential figure in nineteenth century Spanish literary studies, Amador de los Ríos aimed to restore Spain to its proper place among the nations of Europe through recovering its great literary history. His engagement with the Sephardic past encompassed similar goals and became central to his scholarship as it provided a useful paradigm and cautionary analogies of cultural efflorescence and decadence, as well as a moral tale of religious redemption and exile essential to the construction of his meta-narrative of a regenerated Catholic Spanish Patria.

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[64]Federico Ysart, *España y los judíos en la Segunda Guerra Mundial* (Barcelona, 1978); Chaim Lipschitz, *Franco, Spain, the Jews and the Holocaust* (New York, 1984); Haim Avni, *Spain, the Jews and Franco* (Philadelphia, 1982); Antonio Marquina Barrio and Gloria Inés Ospina, *España y los judíos en el siglo XX: la acción exterior* (Madrid,1987); Bernd Rother, *Spanien und der Holocaust* (Tübingen, 2001); Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida *El Antisemitismo en España: la imagen del judío (1812-2000)* (Madrid, 2002); Isabelle Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews 1898-1945: Antisemitism and Opportunism* (Sussex, 2007).

[65] For some recent novel approaches to the topic see also, Daniela Flesler, Tabea Linhard and Adrián Pérez Melgosa eds. "Revisiting Jewish Spain in the Modern Era" Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies (2011); and Michael Brenner ed., "Das Neue Sefarad-Das Moderne Spanien und Sein Jüdisches Erbe", Münchner Beiträge zur Jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur 5:2 (Munich, 2011).

A close textual reading of de los Rios' work on the Jews in the context of the Spanish political and cultural landscape of his times, illustrates how Amador de los Ríos pioneered a process of recovering Spain's Jewish legacy, and how Spain's Jewish past became an object of debate in nineteenth-century Spain, as Spanish scholars and politicians placed historiography at the service of rival political causes, particularly in the struggle over *libertad de cultos* (freedom of religious worship) in Spain, and as part and parcel of efforts to construct a Spanish *patria*. Amador de los Ríos's work, moreover, helped foster the expansion and institutionalization of the recovery of the Jewish past in Spain and its incorporation into Spain's *historia patria.* The reach of Amador de los Rios' scholarship also extended to the Jewish world outside Spain. I demonstrate that we owe much of the initial modern Jewish historiography on the Jews of Spain to his early research into the topic. Moreover, I explore how Amador de los Ríos and Jewish scholars engaged with each other's work and occasionally came into conflict. This initial exchange of ideas, and particularly the Wissenschaft des Judentums scholars' emphasis on Sephardic exceptionalism, would lead to the development of a connected, if more disturbing Spanish understanding and elaboration of "Sephardic" versus "Jewish" tropes in which the Sephardic Jew was clearly superior to other Jews due to his contact and in some cases mixing with Spaniards—a distinction which would become even more acute in the context of heightened racialist thinking in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Spain.

Finally Amador de los Ríos's work on the Jews reveals a deep-seated ambivalence that was inherent to this incipient project of recovery. Such ambivalence, I argue, may be located within the emergence of Spanish Liberalism, and particularly in the close relationship of Spanish Liberalism with a Catholic vision of the *patria*, a vision to which Amador de los Ríos, as a moderate liberal, firmly adhered. How did the Jews figure into an idealized Catholic patria, and

how did their presence or absence shape the nature of this vision? Moreover, how could an understanding of the Jewish past be reconciled with such a vision? These are some of the questions Amador asked himself and his readers, and sought to answer through his scholarship in ways that perhaps best capture the origins of the ambivalence that would continue to characterize Spanish efforts to recover the Jewish past.

By the last third of the nineteenth century, in its attempts to construct a national heritage, the Spanish Restoration state consolidated its collaboration with scholars and politicians dedicated to such acts of recovery. Chapter Two of the dissertation ("Between *Historia Positivista* and *Historia Oficial*: The Recovery of the Jewish Past at the Real Academia de la Historia [1876-1918]") discusses the ways the recovery of the Jewish past became central to the scholarship and mission of the Real Academia de la Historia (henceforth RAH), serving as a staging area for Restoration cultural nationalism. I focus the chapter on the close collaboration between the Restoration state and Jesuit Hebraist and director of the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (henceforth BRAH), Fidel Fita y Colomé (1835-1917), who along with other scholars of the Real Academia de la Historia obsessively gathered, deciphered, translated and published hundreds if not thousands of Hebrew inscriptions and other documents in some way connected to the Jewish past, even as they advocated for the reclamation and preservation of Jewish archeological monuments.[66] These developments also depended on close collaboration between Fidel Fita and Jewish European scholars; many of the latter became honorary members of the RAH for the first time in the history of the institution, and frequently published articles in the *Boletín.*

In this chapter I also demonstrate that it was during this time—as Spain's attempts to redefine and reorient its colonial aspirations towards North Africa continued to provide

[66] Fita served as director of the BRAH between 1833 and 1893.

opportunities for the training and support of Orientalists dedicated to the study of Semitic languages—that knowledge of Hebrew increasingly came to be recognized as a means of gaining access to a critical part of the wealth and cultural patrimony of the *patria*. I further argue that the focus on Hebraism connected to attempts to modernize and professionalize the historical discipline in Spain, as part of a broader continental trend. In the case of Spain however, the modernization of the discipline of history, largely influenced by French and German positivism, converged with attempts by the Conservative Restoration government to preserve the traditional legacy of *Moderado* (moderate) Liberal historians. As such, a seemingly hegemonic official historical narrative of Spanish history emerged through a deterministic and teleological interpretation of the past which constructed an image of Spain as an eternal Christian entity, an image which continues to prevail in our own times. For those, like Fidel Fita, dedicated to recovery of the Jewish past in late nineteenth-century Spain, however, such convergence of traditionalism and modernization would be marked by an ambivalent positivism—one that would allow scholars like Fita ways to circumvent polemics and operate at a level of subtlety which challenged official Restoration politics, even as it seemed to open fissures in dominant conceptions of official *historia patria* in Restoration Spain and beyond. Examination of this shift to what I term positivistic Hebraism, as initiated and exemplified by Fidel Fita and his work, thus illuminates the further institutionalization of the study of the Jewish past in Spain and its incorporation into Spain's official *historia patria,* the historiography generated under the auspices of Spain's Restoration regime (1875-1918).

Fidel Fita's focus on epigraphy and the transcription and translation of hundreds of Hebrew documents (with scant analysis) reflected one way the project of recovering the Jewish past moved towards a more empirical and seemingly objective or "scientific" approach grounded

in Hebraism. Chapter Three ("*Orientalismo Hebraico* as Spain's Other History: The Place of the Jewish Past in Theories of Iberian Hybridity [1880-1918]") expands on this analysis to examine the ways the move towards Hebraism encompassed a much more far-reaching elaboration and engagement with the nation's Jewish past. Focused primarily on the pioneering Hebraic Orientalism of the Liberal Krausist scholar Francisco Fernández y González and the responses to his work, the chapter discussing the central place the Jews and the Jewish past came to hold in the construction of a national historical narrative based on the notion of a foundational Iberian hybridity. In Spain's Jewish past and in Jewish history more broadly speaking, Fernández y González (himself an Arabist) found a particularly attractive paradigm for advancing claims to Spanish exceptionalism and grandeur. In my exploration of his variant of Hebraic Orientalism, I study Fernández y González's identification of Spain's Jews as that nation's most ancient and 'authentic' citizens, and Judaism as forming the foundation of what we know as Western European 'civilization.' I argue that this conceptualization, coupled with the idea of a unique Spanish tolerance during the Middle Ages, fostered a notion of parallel cultural and racialist Jewish and Spanish exceptionalism which aimed to place Spain in a privileged position over the rest of Europe vis-a-vis the historical and cultural legacy of the Jewish past. The history he elaborated moreover presented a more ambivalent counter-narrative to what is often presented as the hegemonic or 'official' version of national history elaborated in nineteenth-century Spain. While Fernández y González's conceptualization of the Jewish past has remained largely unacknowledged by scholars, it clearly served as an important precedent for the better known twentieth-century Republican leftist visions of Spanish history focused on convivencia, as well as Liberal, proto-fascist and Franquist philosephardist and Hispanist projects. Finally, I consider some of the fervent, oppositional responses to such notions of Hebraic Iberian hybridity, which, I

argue, manifest an incipient neo-Catholicism based around the revival of Iberian Christian purity. While originally constructed in opposition to each other however, Iberian purity and hybridity were similarly grounded in racialist views of the Jews and the Jewish past and formed the basis of nationalist projects. I suggest this commonality may perhaps help to further explain the shifting and blurring of political affiliations and positions of many scholars dedicated to recovering the Jewish past in Spain.

Chapter Four ("Reclaiming Sepharad: Spain's Jewish Past Between *Sefardismo* and *Hispanidad*") explores philo-Sephardic campaigns and institutional developments in Sephardic studies during the early twentieth century, revealing both the far-reaching influence of earlier Spanish scholarship and debate over the Jewish past, and the ambivalence that continued to characterize acts of recovering Spain's Jewish past under its auspices. In this chapter I focus on developments following Ángel Pulido's philosephardist campaign, beginning with the appointment in 1914 of the Jewish Jerusalem-born scholar, Abraham S. Yahuda (1877–1951) as the First Chair of "Rabbinical Language and Literature and the History of the Jews of Spain" at the University of Madrid. Yahuda was the first Jew to be appointed to a professorship at a modern Spanish university. While his appointment was initiated and endorsed by the Spanish government in conjunction with influential scholars of the RAH and the university of Madrid, his Jewishness also became an issue of debate and discontent in other less welcoming quarters. In 1920, after a series of academic intrigues in opposition to his continuation in the position, Yahuda publicly tendered his own resignation from the chairmanship.

I discuss these academic developments in conjunction with two subsequent expressions of cultural and political Sephardism, one of them the work of Ernesto Giménez Caballero, a pioneer of fascism in Spain and founder and editor of *La Gaceta Literaria (ibérica-americana-*

internacional), Spain's leading vanguard literary and cultural journal. In addition to examining the many writings on the topic by different authors of all political leanings featured in the *Gaceta Literaria,* I study Giménez Caballero's state-sponsored voyages in search of the Sephardic diaspora between 1927-1931, as documented through official government reports, articles in the *Gaceta* and a short film, *Los judíos de patria española* (1929). An examination of these texts and of Giménez Caballero's visits to Sephardic diaspora reveals the central role of "Sepharad" in the efforts of Spain's political and intellectual vanguard to elaborate a vision of a New Spain and Hispanic identity, or Hispanidad, shortly before the outbreak of Spain's devastating civil war in 1936. Furthermore, Giménez Caballero's encounters with Sepharad and Sephardic Jews reveal an overdetermined hybridity in the form of "mimesis" in which one is often forced to ask who is imitating whom; at the same time, his patronizing and romanticized visual and written depictions of the Sephardic Jews he encountered reproduced the ambivalence of Spanish Sephardist neocolonialism.[67] Finally, I demonstrate how the coexistence of divergent points of view in Giménez Caballero's work—including Catholic nationalism, cosmopolitanism, antisemitism and Sephardism—and his convoluted trajectory towards fascism, allow us to begin to infer the possible connections between these positions in the context of Spanish fascism. Such positions, I argue, connect to the deeper history of the question of the "Jewishness" of Spain—a history that owes much to the idea of a united Catholic Spain.

The final Sephardist project I discuss is the widely publicized official commemoration of the eighth centennial of the birth of Maimonides in Córdoba in 1935. I demonstrate how the commemoration—in whose organization the Spanish Republican government played a central role—provided a context for restoring an image of tolerance to a Spanish Republic (then governed by a coalition of the right, a period known as the *bienio negro*), as it faced the threat of

[67] On mimesis and hybridity see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (NY, 1994).

political disintegration. Beyond a mere study of the politics governing public commemorations, I illustrate how the Maimonides commemoration involved multiple actors from within and beyond the Spanish nation (including Sephardic Jews from diverse locations), in the imagining and performance of Spain as a *patria* that might once again include the descendants of the Jews expelled in 1492. These disparate visions of the patria seemed to merge over the course of this event, as Spaniards and Sephardim formed a shared vision of Spain, one that coincided, in some ways, with the *patria* envisioned and publicized by government officials in a time of crisis. Nonetheless, I demonstrate how others, within and outside of Spain, shunned the commemoration as a fraudulent, offensive, or futile endeavor, not least because of its failure to connect to the quite bleak contemporary Spanish political reality and its complete silencing of the darker aspects of Spain's relationship with its Sephardic past.

Chapter I

Jewish History as "Historia Patria:"

José Amador de los Ríos and the History of the Jews of Spain

On 19 June 1918, a day of "intense joy for the *patria*",[1] members of Spain's Royal Academies of History (la *Real Academia de la Historia*), Fine Arts (la *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*), and Language (*La Real Academia Española*) gathered in Madrid to pay homage to the nineteenth-century historian and literary scholar, José Amador de los Ríos. The speeches delivered in his honor on that day, the centennial of his birth, highlight the place of Amador de los Ríos in the pantheon of illustrious figures whose work paid tribute to the Spanish *patria*. Among the main accomplishments those honoring him esteemed as qualifying him as a "national hero of *saber patrio*" (patriotic knowledge)[2] was his scholarship on the Jews of Spain. Accordingly, discussion of Amador's research on Spanish Jewry occupied a distinguished place in the speeches delivered that very day.

The celebration of Amador de los Ríos as an intellectual figure of import to the Spanish *patria* and discussion of his scholarship on the Jews by some of Spain's most prestigious scholarly institutions in 1918 suggests that both Amador's work and Spain's Jewish past had come to hold a prominent place in dominant conceptions of *historia patria* (official national history) in Spain**.** This chapter examines how Amador de los Ríos and the history of the Jews of Spain attained such standing. Through a close reading of Amador's work on the Jews in the

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[1] "Día de intenso júbilo para la patria," speech of Antonio Ballesteros in Vicente Lámperez, Antonio Ballesteros, and Antonio Maura, *Discursos leídos en la sesión pública celebrada el día 19 de Mayo de 1918, dedicada a enaltecer la Memoria de Los Excmos. Sres. D. Pedro de Madrazo y D. José Amador de los Ríos*, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Madrid, 1918), 25.

[2] Speech of Vicente Lampérez, Numerary Academic (Académico de número) de la de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Ibid., 7

context of the Spanish political and cultural landscape of his times, I attempt to illustrate how Amador de los Ríos pioneered a process of recovering Spain's Jewish legacy, and how Spain's Jewish past became an object of debate in nineteenth-century Spain, as Spanish scholars and politicians placed historiography at the service of rival political causes in their efforts to construct a Spanish *patria*. Moreover, I also seek to explain why Amador sought an alternate way of writing *historia patria*, and why he chose the Jews as a vehicle through which to write this sort of history.

I. Constructing a Spanish patria in Nineteenth-Century Spain

Any reading of Amador de los Rios' work on the Jews of Spain must consider the ideological and political struggles for and over the establishment of a liberal-constitutional polity that dominated nineteenth-century Spain and informed his historical writing and understanding of Spain's Jewish past. Born in Baena, a city in the province of Cordoba, on 30 April 1818, José Amador de los Ríos was touched by the political upheavals of the period at an early age. When he was nine years old, his family fled Baena and resettled in Cordoba, the provincial capital, to escape the persecution of Liberals connected to an absolutist backlash after the restoration of Ferdinand VII. In 1832, the entire family once again relocated, this time to Madrid, where Amador de los Ríos pursued general studies and studied painting. During this period he also began to dedicate himself to the study of Spanish History and was particularly inspired by the medieval Spanish historical chronicles and Father Juan de Mariana's patriotic *Historia general de España*.[3] Nonetheless, the most significant influence on the future of Amador de los Ríos' scholarly interests seemed to have been his contact with Liberal literary scholar and former exile

[3]See Francisco Valverde y Perales, *Historia de la Villa de Baena* (Toledo, 1903), 418-419, 4. On the medieval chronicles see Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993).

Don Alberto Lista. Between 1836 and 1837, Amador de los Ríos attended a class Lista offered on Spanish drama at the Athenaeum of Madrid, a hub for Liberal literati and the dissemination of Liberal cultural and political values.[4] In the course of his lessons, Lista had frequently lamented that "in the midst of the wealth of documents Spain possessed, it found itself dispossessed of a literary history, a dignified monument to the fame of its illustrious sons." He also lamented the absence of a national historian to take on such a project.[5] Inspired by his new mentor and the broader resurgent interest in national literature and history in the recovery and construction of the *patria*, Amador de los Ríos soon communicated to Lista his wish to write such a work, a mission Lista enthusiastically encouraged.

When further political turmoil erupted following the institution of the Liberal Constitution of 1837, Amador and his family left the capital for Seville.[6] Amador de los Ríos, who was nineteen at this time, spent most of his days at Seville's *Biblioteca Colombina*, a library and literary academy, researching and reading original documents, codices, and local histories for his anticipated study. Amador de los Ríos proved central to the life of the *Colombina*, publishing poetry as well as articles and essays on Spanish literature and history in its literary publication *El Cisne*. He further integrated himself into Seville´s intellectual life by becoming in 1839 an associate of the *Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras*, where he organized public

[4] On the *Ateneo* of Madrid see Rafael María de Labra, *El ateneo de Madrid, 1835-1905: notas históricas* (Madrid, 1906).

[5]"en medio de la riqueza documental que atesoraba España, se hallaba desposeída de una Historia literaria, monumento digno de la fama de sus ilustres hijo." "Expediente académico de Amador de los Ríos: Datos referentes a la Historia crítica de la Literatura Española," AGA, Legajo 65-6, Caja 15.248 and Valverde y Perales, *Villa de Baena*, 419-420. "Expediente académico de Amador de los Ríos: Datos referentes a la Historia crítica de la Literatura Española," AGA, Legajo 65-6, Caja 15.248 and Valverde y Perales, *Historia de la Villa de Baena*, 419-420.

[6]The new constitution, produced within the context of *Progresista* struggle against the Regent and *Moderado* rule, established a compromise between the 1812 constitution and the *Moderado´*s Statute. The *Moderado* government ruled under this constitution from 1837-1840.

lectures on Spanish culture and history.[7] Amador de los Rios' interest in recovering Spain's national past also extended to the field of historical preservation, and in 1844 he was nominated Secretary of the newly founded "Central Commission for the Conservation of Historical and Artistic Monuments" in Madrid.[8]

It was via Amador de los Rios' interest in historical monuments that he began his earliest research into Spain's Jewish past, as part of a wider interest in Spain's *historia patria*. Through his study of Toledo, *Toledo Pintoresca* (1845), dedicated to the city's most celebrated historical monuments, de los Ríos became acquainted with the city's rich Jewish legacy and dedicated a section to Toledo's two extant medieval synagogues: *Sinagoga del Tránsito and Santa Maria la Blanca* (the name of the church it had become).[9] Amador de los Rios' research into Spain's Jewish past would continue to deepen. In the same year, he presented to the Spanish public the first installment of a work that would bring Spain's Jewish past to the fore of Spanish scholarship and historiography. Between 17 November 1845, and 16 February 1846, de los Ríos published a series of articles entitled "De los judíos en España" in the weekly *Revista del Español*.[10] At the end of this series he notified his readers that he had decided the *Revista* was not an adequate

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[7] Valverde y Perales, *Historia de la Villa de Baena*, 422.

[8]The Commission of Monuments was established by the Royal decrees of 13 June and 24 July of 1844. See Peiró Martín, *Los guardianes de la historia*, 48, footnote 109. According to one of his contemporaries, Amador "allí se encuentra como el pez en el agua: si de nuestra voluntad dependiera nunca perdería su destino, ni sirviera á su país en otras oficinas: prosperara sueldo en categoría pero sin salir de comisión tan beneficiosa á las glorias artísticas nacionales." In D.A. Ferrer del Río, "Amador de los Ríos," *Galeria de la literatura Española*. (Madrid, 1846), 315-316. Amador also wrote a *Memoria*, published in 1845, about his activities in this position, which reveals his zeal and diligence in attending to matters related to this position. Valverde y Perales, *Historia de la Villa de Baena*, 423.

[9]Amador de los Ríos had also published a similar work on Seville, *Sevilla Pintoresca* (Sevilla, 1844).

[10]Amador de los Ríos, "De los judíos de España," *Revista literaria de El Español: periódico de literatura, bellas artes y variedades* 25-30 (1845): 1-5, 4-8, 3-9, 4-9, 1-6; 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39 (1846): 4-9, 1-6, 5-9.

venue for such an involved study, and that he would resume the study in a more appropriate forum.[11]

In 1847, even before Amador de los Ríos fulfilled his promise, however, Cádiz native and literary scholar Adolfo de Castro published a monograph on the history of the Jews of Spain, *Historia de los judíos de España*.[12] Adolfo de Castro was an active member of the Liberal Union party and deeply involved in the local and regional politics of Cádiz.[13] He held various political appointments while he wrote and researched as an independent scholar. A self declared fervent ("exaltado") Liberal and "free thinker" at the time of the writing and publication of the *Historia*, de Castro claimed to have written his history of the Jews, "without passion or artifice," providing the disclaimer that he was neither a Jew, nor descended from "judaizers." Rather, he insisted, he only sought to "sustain the truth, unlike nearly all of the authors who had written on the topic up to this point" who, he maintained, were "corrupted by the hatred of everything pertaining to the Jewish people, a hatred they imbibed at their mother's breast."[14]

To distinguish himself from these other authors, de Castro declared he would demonstrate how the Jews had contributed to Spanish culture, and how the Catholic Kings

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[11] *Revista de El Español* 39 (1846): 5-9.

[12] Adolfo de Castro, *Historia de los Judios en España, desde los Tiempos de su Establecimiento hasta Principios del Presente Siglo* (Cádiz, 1847).

[13] The Union Liberal party was presided over by Leopoldo O'Donnell and several academics such as Núñez de Acre, López de Ayala, Alarcón and Campoamor were active members**.** On de Castro's political involvement in Cádiz politics, see Yolanda Vallejo Márquez, *Adolfo de Castro (1823-1898): Su tiempo, su vida y su obra* (Cádiz, 1997), 25 and Manuel Ravina Martin, *Bibliófilo y erudito: vida y obra de Adolfo de Castro (1823-1898)* (Cádiz, 1999), 36.

[14] "Escribo esta historia sin pasión, ni artificio, como de cosas de que nada me tocan. Ni soy judío, ni vengo de judaizantes…pero casi todos no han cortado sus relaciones a la medida de la verdad, así por el miedo a los Reyes Católicos mientras vivían, como después de muertos, por el odio que bebieron en los pechos de sus madres contra todo lo perteneciente a la nación judaica." De Castro, *Historia de los judíos*, 8. In her study of de Castro, Yolanda Vallejo Márquez makes the claim that he descended from a family of conversos. Though while entirely possible, this claim has not been corroborated in any other source.

committed a grave injustice by expelling them from Spain. While he discussed the contributions of the Jews to Spain, the focus of his history remained their persecution. For, according to de Castro, the history of the Jews in Spain was not as a history "full of illustrious victories, distinguished feats and noble aims," but rather one of "calamities, conflicts, persecutions, mob violence, assaults**,** arson, expulsions, immolation, public gallows, infamy of lineages, incarcerations, opprobrium, and other harsh punishments."[15] De Castro's choice to focus on the persecution of the Jews in his *Historia* may be read within the context of his wider interest in denouncing and implicating the Spanish Monarchy, the Church and by extension the Inquisition, in espousing and fomenting religious intolerance. Far from representing an example of dispassionate scholarship, such denunciations suggested a political agenda connected to de Castro's liberal attachments and affiliations and in keeping with the tradition of Spanish Liberal historiography of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century that proved critical of certain long-standing Spanish institutions that were perceived as hostile to the welfare of a Spanish liberal-constitutional polity.[16]

In 1848, Amador de los Ríos fulfilled his promise to the readers of his articles in the *Revista* and responded to the appearance of de Castro's history of the Jews, with the publication

[15]"historia llena no de ilustres vencimientos, señaladas proezas i altos fines, sino de calamidades, conflictos, persecuciones, motines de la plebe, robos, incendios, destierros, muertes a fuego en públicos cadalsos, infamias de linajes, encarcelamientos, oprobios i otros rigurosísimos castigos." De Castro, *Historia de los judíos*, 7.

[16] De Castro subsequently published a history of the persecution of Protestants by Philip II, *Historia de los protestantes españoles y su persecución por Felipe III,* (Cadiz, 1851), and a study of religious intolerance and Spain's decline, *Examen filosófico sobre los principales causas de la Decadencia de España,* (Cadiz, 1852). While these works did not achieve wide recognition within Spain, they were promptly translated to English by Protestant scholars, as was his work on the Jews, who welcomed de Castro's denunciation of the Catholic Church in Spain: *The Spanish Protestants and their Persecution by Philip II; a Historical Work.* Thomas Parker tran. (London, 1851); *The History of the Jews of Spain, from the time of their settlement in that contry till the commencement of the present century.* The Rev. Edward D.G.M. Kirwan, M.A., fellow of King's College, Cambridge, trans. (Cambridge & London, 1851); *History of Religious Intolerance in Spain: or, an Examination of Some of the Causes which led to that Nation's Decline.* Thomas Parker, trans. (London, 1853).

of *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios de los judíos de España*.[17] In his "Note to the Reader" in the *Estudios*, he reminded readers of his earlier articles on the Jews in the *Revista*, commenting on the great deal of research involved in their writing and how it should thus be clear that from the start he had always had every intention of turning them into a monograph. He even **s**uggested that far from being the one to have taken the idea from "Sr. de Castro", "one could very well say that my articles were available to him when he designed his study."[18] While both men sought to establish their claims over this history, it would soon become a subject of much wider contending claims.

II. Jewish History as Redemptive History

In the introduction to the *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios de los judíos de España* (1848), Amador de los Ríos emphasized the novelty of the subject of his work. He wrote that only with great difficulty "could one find among us a work which attempts to study the descendants of the Prophet King (David) during their long tenure in Spain" and which took into account "their laws, customs and their relations with the Christian people..." This work, he indicated, "has yet to have been attempted, and still offers the attraction of its novelty, inviting the learned and the experts to a field in reality full of flowers full of thorns, where the aroma of

[17]Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España* (Madrid, 1848), XI-XII. The work was submitted to the Royal Academy of History (RAH) for review, as early as June of 1847, before it was made available to the public. "Expediente académico de José Amador de los Ríos," RAH, Secretaria, leg. 101; Circulares de 6 de Junio de 1847.

[18]"Es, pues, evidente que antes de insertar en la *Revista* estos artículos, había empleado ya mucho tiempo en recoger noticias y documentos, abrigando desde el principio la idea de formar una obra sobre la raza hebraica española...Advertirán nuestros lectores (y es lo que mas me interesa) que lejos de ser yo quien ha tomado la idea del Sr. Castro, pudiera muy bien decirse que tuvo él presentes mis artículos, al formar el proyecto de su obra." *Estudios*, XI-XII. That de Castro kept careful track of Amador's articles in the *Revista* and strategized to publish his work before the appearance of the *Estudios* is confirmed in a letter he sent to his friend Luis María Ramírez on 24 September, 1847: "Creo que Ríos aún no ha publicado la obra acerca de los Judíos. Cuando yo supe que la estaba imprimiendo no quise que la mía quedara inédita o que saliese en pos de la suya. Dí prisa a los cajistas i la eché en la plaza, mucho más cuando fuera de los compradores que podré conseguir en Cádiz o en Madrid, la vecinidad de Gibraltar i ciertas relaciones de amistad que tengo con un comerciante de Orán me ayudan a facilitar la venta." Published in Ravina Martín, *Bibliófilo y erudito*, 21.

the flowers seduces, making one forget the anguish of the thorns."[19] Hence, by means of a metaphor, de los Ríos enticed the reader to journey with him into Spain's Jewish past, suggesting that despite the thorny nature of the topic, the rewards of its study were certainly worthwhile.

Amador de los Ríos attributed the absence of serious Spanish studies on the Jews of Spain to two misguided perceptions that in his view warranted serious revision: the unwillingness to accept the Jews as "men of literature", because of negative perceptions of their alleged financial dealings; and the notion that the literary and scientific scholarship of Spanish Jewry was inaccessible, since it was written in Hebrew. Amador de los Ríos, mainly concerned with this second perception, accused the majority of earlier "Spanish scholars" of "brute ignorance," as he contended that they never troubled to verify this false perception yet nonetheless held Jewish scholarship in contempt.[20] He thus admonished his fellow Spaniards for their ignorance of an important part of their national patrimony, and for taking "a multitude of works that would have brought glory to the Spanish nation and burying them in the dust."[21]

Based primarily on published sources, the *Estudios* is over 6oo pages in length, stretching from the arrival of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula through their expulsion from Spain in 1492 and subsequent dispersion throughout the Sephardic Diaspora. The work is divided into three parts called "essays." The first essay a **"**Historical-Political" study of the Jews in Christian Spain, while the second and third essays are dedicated to studies of the "scientific and literary" works of Spanish Jewry. The Jewish literary material Amador de los Ríos explored is almost

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[19] *Estudios,* XV-XVI.

[20] Amador de los Ríos notes the exceptions of José Rodríguez de Castro, *Biblioteca española*: *Tomo Primero que contiene la noticia de los escritores rabinos españoles desde la época conocida de su literatura hasta el presente*, (Madrid, 1781), who had already noted these lacunae, as well as Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca vetus* (Rome, 1696). De los Ríos, *Estudios*, XVIII, note 12.

[21] "hundió en el polvo multitud de títulos gloriosos para la nación española…" Ibid., XVIII.

solely confined to works in Spanish. Amador de los Ríos justified this focus on Spanish language texts, as he claimed these proved essential in understanding Jewish-Christian relations in the Iberian Peninsula, and that the comparative study of mutual literary influences would thus best illuminate the "progressive march of Spanish civilization." Nonetheless, Amador acknowledged Hebrew's importance for "every scholar who aspired to examine the elements of culture which agitated in our land and as a result gave birth to modern civilization" and referred to its study as the "key to valuable juridical and historical codices, such as the ones gathering dust in our libraries."[22] While de los Rios' own engagement with Hebrew sources pertaining to Spain's Jewish past proved limited, his words would have resonance as a focus on Hebraism would characterize the future of Sephardic studies in Spain.[23]

While the *Estudios* covered some of the same material and topics as Adolfo de Castro's history of the Jews, Amador de los Ríos presented a very different vision of Spain and its Jewish past. While Adolfo de Castro had made use of the Jewish past to attack the Church and the Monarchy, and to defend Spain's constitutional liberalism, de los Ríos placed Spain's Jewish history in the service of a vision of a unified Spanish Christian nation. He did so through a narrative which celebrated Jewish contributions to "Spanish civilization" and the "extraordinary" influence and privileges he claimed the Jews had attained in Spain, yet also described their

[22]Aunque para los estudios que nos proponemos hacer no creemos indispensable absolutamente el conocimiento de la lengua hebrea, no es este menos necesario y útil para todo literato, que aspire á examinar los elementos de cultura que se agitaron en nuestro suelo y dieron por resultado la civilización moderna. El estudio de la lengua santa contribuye por otra parte á conocer los ignorados tesoros que guarda la Biblia y es la llave de tantos y tan apreciables códices jurídicos é históricos, como existen todavía entre el polvo de nuestras bibliotecas." *Estudios,* XXIII, 244-246.

[23]Hinting at his restricted proficiency in a field still in its infancy in Spain, Amador acknowledged the assistance of chaired professor of Hebrew Language at the University of Madrid, José María García Blanco, with whom he studied, in preparing the original Hebrew translations in the *Estudios*.

persecution by Christians, which he in part attributed to "transgressions" they had committed. Amador de los Ríos thus noted:

> The chronicles of kings, the histories of cities, the annals of families, are full of events in which the proscribed nation has taken a more or less active part; at times appearing with the torch of civilization in its right hand and at other times appearing as the object of fierce hatred; perpetually suffering the bitter fate Heaven had in store for the expiation of its sins.[24]

His invitation to readers to traverse a field of "flowers full of thorns" thus entailed embracing the "anguish" of Jewish persecution and suffering (albeit brought on by themselves), as well as the overpowering "seduction" of the benefits of Jewish cultural efflorescence and political ascent.

Amador de los Ríos insistently wove a story into his narrative about the troubled relationship between the Jews and an emerging Spanish *patria*, exploring this relationship through a reading of some of the more persistent themes and narratives in Spanish historiography and literature. One of these themes was the 'loss' or 'fall' of Spain to the Muslims in 711, one of the more enduring narratives within this historiographical and literary tradition.[25] This narrative involved the dishonoring of 'Spain' by a morally corrupt Visigothic monarchy, though the Jews also often figured in these narratives, as agents whose alleged betrayal and conspiracy with the 'Moors' facilitated Spain's 'downfall.' Finally, according to these narratives, Spain is subsequently redeemed and resurrected with the so-called *Reconquista*. On the surface, Amador de los Rios' rendering of this historical moment appears to follow this tradition. A closer examination however, reveals that de los Rios' narration of Jewish betrayal is more complicated: he implied this betrayal was contingent upon an ethical and moral responsibility of the Jews

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[24]"Las crónicas de los reyes, las historias de las ciudades, los anales de las familias, están llenos de acontecimientos en que el pueblo proscrito ha tenido una parte mas ó menos activa, apareciendo unas veces con la antorcha de la civilización en su diestra, siendo otras objeto de encarnizados-odios y sufriendo siempre la suerte amarga que en expiación de sus crímenes le había reservado el cielo." *Estudios,* XV-XVI.

[25]See for example Colin Smith et al., *Christians and Moors in Spain* (Warminster, England, 1988) and Patricia Grieve, *The Eve of Spain: Myths of Origins in the History of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Conflict* (Baltimore, 2009).

toward the *patria*, while his narrative suggests that the *patria*'s "fall from grace" paralleled that of the Jews' "fall from grace."

Amador de los Ríos concluded that the logical course of action expected of the Jews in this decisive historical moment would have been to assist their *patria* in its struggle against the Moorish invaders: "Love of the patria, that is, the love of the land where they were born, and the gratitude towards the final disposition of the Visigothic Kings, would have required from that people that they join their forces with those of the Spanish nation, in order to reject the foreign invasion and at the same time open their coffers in order to attend to the pressing needs of the state."[26] In addition to blaming the Jews for the loss of many great cities to the Moors, of disloyalty, and of harboring a profound hatred toward the Christians, he accused them of neither understanding nor respecting the idea of "love of *patria*." The principle or ideal of "love of *patria*," as understood by de los Ríos (one connected to his ideas about modern Spain), transcended this particular historical moment and came to represent an important theme for him in his discussion of the Jewish presence in Spain.

Nonetheless, in Amador de los Rios' rendering of Spanish history, the Jews' betrayal of the *patria* by aiding the Moorish enemy is 711 was subsequently compensated for by the aid they provided to the Christians in the "sacred undertaking" of the "Reconquista." In the craggy mountains of northern Spain, the Asturian king Pelayo gathered the remnants of the Gothic kingdom, and together "energized by patriotic memories and religious sentiment, they laid the foundations for the new monarchy which would later emerge, big and powerful, filling with

[26] *Estudios*, 18.

terror all those who initially viewed it with absolute contempt."[27] Although this description romanticizes and mythologizes the inauguration of the Reconquista (in conformity to the dominant narrative of Spanish national history) which persists to this day, de los Ríos also admitted that this period was hardly characterized by tolerance. What is more, he insisted that it was during this period that the Jews were indispensable to Spain; too busy fighting the Muslims, the Christians left the work of generating commerce and culture to the Jews.

In addition to his discussion of their active participation in the Reconquista, through actual battle or the provision of funds, de los Ríos viewed the Jews as playing an essential role in cultivating the spiritual and intellectual character of Christian Spain. Amador claimed the Jews "enlightened" the Christians, whose preoccupation with battling the Muslims created, he argued, an intellectual and spiritual void. Moreover, the ongoing Jewish cultivation of the arts and sciences, according to de los Ríos, proved essential for the *patria* to evolve and achieve "greatness." Thus, Amador de los Ríos valued and legitimized the role and existence of the Jews as a crutch or buttress to Christian Spain, as the Jews' dedication to intellectual pursuits helped "civilize" the *patria*, thus placing it on a path towards redemption.

Throughout the narrative of the *Estudios* the Jews and the Jewish past are vehicles through which to redeem Christian Spain. Amador de los Ríos described the battle of las Navas de Tolosa (1212), which marked the permanent turning of the tide of the 'Reconquista' in favor of the Christians, as "determining Spain's liberty." It was however the subsequent period about which Amador de los Ríos waxed poetic as he declared, "announcing its arrival everywhere as the epoch of restoration, like the dawn of the magnificent day which would shine for modern

[27]"exaltados allí por los recuerdos patrióticos y por los sentimientos religiosos, echábanse los cimientos á la nueva monarquía, que había de aparecer mas tarde grande y poderosa, llenando de terror á los que al principio la vieron con absoluto deprecio." Ibid., 21-22.

societies, appeared to broadcast good fortune for the Iberian Peninsula."[28] This accolade to the thirteenth century as a period of regeneration, as well as a harbinger of Spain's future, prepares the reader for de los Rios' introduction to the figure he took as the consummate hero of the Spanish *patria* during this period: King Alfonso X (ruled 1252-1284).[29]

Amador sought to recover Alfonso X and his legacy for the "cause of Spanish civilization" redeeming him from the inadequate portrayal he believed the "Wise king" had received in Spanish historiography.[30] Amador attempted to restore Alfonso to his proper place in Spain's *historia patria* through his examination of the relationship of Alfonso X with the Jews, which paralleled Alfonso's larger politics and designs for "Spain" and as a desirable paradigm for the Jews' place in the *patria*. Amador de los Ríos argued that "in order for the biblical scriptures to be fulfilled; in order for the Hebrew nation to atone for its crime of deicide...it was necessary that it wander throughout the world, *without a patria*, *home or temple*, leading a precarious existence and living under the yoke of all peoples." Alfonso's role as a good Christian was to tolerate them:

> The tolerance of don Alfonso and the respect he manifested a propos the religious rituals of the Jews, had its origin in the respect he professed toward the Christian religion . . . . [H]e fulfilled one of the most sacred duties, according to his conscience, and rendered the most dignified tribute of his faith and his admiration toward the great work of the Crucified.[31]

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[28]"decidiendo la libertad de España." Ibid., 29.

[29]See Robert I. Burns ed., *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-century Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 1990) and *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror: Intellect and Force in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1985).

[30]"a la causa de la civilización española." *Estudios*, 44. Amador notes P. Mariana as an example of an historian who had misjudged Alfonso X.

[31]"La tolerancia religiosos de don Alfonso y el respeto que manifestó tocante á los ritos religiosos de los judíos, provenían por otra parte del respeto que profesaba á la religión cristiana...Para que se cumpliesen las santas escrituras; para que expiase el pueblo hebreo el crimen de deicidio...necesario era que vagase por el mundo *sin patria, sin hogar y sin* templo, arrastrando una existencia precaria y viviendo bajo el yugo de todos los pueblos...cumplía con uno de los deberes mas sagrados, según su conciencia, y rendía el tributo mas digno de su fe y de su admiración á la grande obra del Crucificado." Ibid., 35.

Thus, Alfonso's tolerance of the Jews proved a token of his righteousness as a Christian, and the Jews' 'wandering,' a testimony to the truth of Christianity.

Amador de los Ríos rendered Alfonso X as possessing and enacting the qualities which make him eligible to engage in this redemptive act—an act which may also be understood as one of "civilizing" the *patria*. Amador de los Ríos identified these ideals as a righteous and humanistic Christianity, coupled with a high degree of cultural productivity. What is more, this historical "recovery" may be understood as the projection of an ideal of governance de los Ríos espoused for contemporary Spain**.** At the same time, Amador de los Ríos portrayed the Jews as serving Alfonso as a vital cultural resource; he portrayed Alfonso as serving as their steward and potential redeemer, from their downtrodden state of subjugation. It is under Alfonso X's rule, de los Ríos contended, that the participation of the Jews in the development of Spanish culture reached its apogee. Membership in a Christian *patria* was then possible—even if temporarily—(while it is not in a Muslim one),[32] as long as the Jews allowed the Christians to redeem them. Amador's redemption thus appeared to be a dual redemption: The dedication of the Jews to intellectual pursuits and commerce helped replenish and "civilize" the vanquished *patria*, while their active role also allowed for the possibility of their own redemption as members of a Spanish *patria*.

Amador de los Ríos attempted to demonstrate through discussion of Alfonso X's famous law code (the *Siete Partidas*) that while Alfonso used the Jews to build and fortify his cultural enterprise, he also kept the Jews in check, making them answerable to the "abuses they

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[32] In his very brief discussion of the Jews under Muslim rule, Amador explains the status of the Jews as *dhimmi* (i.e. "people of the book" who were protected under Islam) and concludes this legal status would always prevent them from becoming "members" of the Muslim "Nation."

continually committed" and "reminding them of their errors."[33] Nonetheless, despite his admiration for Alfonso's attempts, de los Ríos indicated his ambivalence regarding the possibility of Jewish redemption: "But although don Alonso tried (to the extent he was able to), to improve the miserable condition of the proscribed nation ...he was unable to extract the yoke that hovered above them..."[34] Such an understanding seems to parallel de los Rios' greater ambivalence regarding the position of the Jews in the Spanish *patria*, reflecting concerns of a Christian theological nature as well as the more secular contemporary debates about Jewish emancipation beyond the Pyrenees.

Amador de los Rios' ambivalence regarding Jewish redemption also raises the question of his position regarding the conversion of the Jews. Did he look favorably upon converting the Jews? Did he believe Christianity was a condition for membership in a Spanish *patria*? While de los Rios certainly advocated for tolerating the Jews, he also viewed their conversion as an ideal. As such, he deemed Christianity as an ideal for full fledged membership in a Spanish *patria*. Nonetheless, de los Ríos argued Jewish conversion should have only been accomplished through persuasion and regarded forced conversion as antithetical to the very spirit of Christianity. Not only did he insist it was antithetical to Christian doctrine, but that any form of religious extremism and sectarianism was detrimental to the welfare of the *patria*.

Amador de los Rios' thoughts about forced conversion are best illustrated in his account of the massacres and mass forced baptisms that swept Spain in 1391 and his discussion of the

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[33] *Estudios*, 34. See Dwayne E. Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on Siete partidas 7.24 "De los judíos"* (Berkeley, 1986).

[34] "Pero aunque don Alonso trató de mejorar en cuanto estaba á su alcance la miserable condición del pueblo proscrito...todavía no alcanzó á sustraerlo del yugo que gravitaba sobre él...No pudo tampoco aquel rey justo, sabio y cristiano libertar á los judíos en otro terreno de la animadversión y malquerencia con que eran vistos por el pueblo." *Estudios*, 31-32. Amador attributes this severity to the belief that the Jews were publicly preaching Judaism as a means of proselytizing among the "masses" though he indicates that in other respects the *partidas* proved tolerant of the Jews (*Estudios*, 34).

role of archdeacon of Ecija, Ferrán Martínez, in these events. De los Ríos expressed horror at the brutal violence perpetrated against the Jews and presents Martínez as the main villain. He argued that Martínez transgressed and undermined the Christian faith as well as the rules of good citizenship by advocating forced baptism and inciting violence against the Jews. As such, he described the zealousness of the archdeacon as "neither *saintly* nor *good*..." and contended that the "Councils of Toledo, the laws of the *Partidas*, and the maxims of the Gospel, prohibit forcing the Jews to accept baptism against their will."[35]

While Amador de los Ríos was opposed to and strongly condemned forced conversions, his view of conversion through non-violent means was markedly different. Amador de los Ríos thus counterposed what he termed "proselytism by terror", practiced by the likes of Ferrán Martínez, with "proselytism by preaching." The latter form, he contended, was upheld by preacher Fray Vicente Ferrer during the massacres of 1391. In distinction from the tradition of Jewish chroniclers who portrayed Ferrer as an arch-enemy of the Jews and held him responsible for much of the violence of 1391, de los Ríos glorified and practically sanctified him. He rendered Ferrer's intervention during the massacres of 1391 as "miraculous", maintaining that Jews begged him to baptize them and that Ferrer successfully converted numerous distinguished Jews.[36] For Amador de los Ríos, these conversions were thus the ultimate "Jewish contribution" to Spain as they aided directly in strengthening its Christian nature.

The final chapter of the history of the Jews of Spain consisted of their expulsion in 1492. Amador de los Ríos wrote of the services provided by the Jews to King Ferdinand during the conquest of Granada, inquiring, sarcastically, if banishing the Jews from Spain presented a

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[35]"El celo de arcediano no era santo ni bueno...Por los Concilios de Toledo, por las leyes de *Partida* y por todas las máximas del Evangelio se prohibía el que se obligase á los judíos á recibir el bautismo contra su voluntad." *Estudios*, 60.

[36]*Estudios*, 39.

"dignified reward for their services?" On this account, he refused to provide excuses for the king (noticeably, Queen Isabel is absent from his critique), as he believed his ingratitude was inexcusable, and indicated his impatience with anyone whom he regarded as an apologist for such ingratitude: "No one can absolve the Catholic King from the ingratitude he exhibited, nor can anyone, as much as they might attempt to demonstrate to the contrary. . . present his conduct as a model worthy of imitation."[37]

Nonetheless, Amador de los Ríos ultimately justified the decision of the Catholic Kings to expel the Jews, claiming it was inevitable. De los Rios' vision of a united Christian Spain shaped his justification of the Expulsion, as he argued that political unity was contingent upon religious unity: "The idea of the political *unity* of Spain was born, and it was born, as it could not have been in any other way, enveloped in the idea of religious *unity*. The latter was essential in order to create and sustain the former...because all possible human efforts collide with the impossible where there is no uniformity of ideas and unity of interests."[38] For Amador de los Rios, this vision represented the highest ideal for Spain. Moreover, he represented the Catholic Kings as saintly patrons and redeemers of the *patria*, as "it was decreed that the century of great crimes and defiance would also be the century of expiation and of reparations; and doña Isabel I and don Fernando V, were called to carry out Providence's just decree."[39]

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[37]"Reconocida, pues, la importancia de la parte que tuvieron en tan grandiosa empresa, no puede menos de convenirse en que don Fernando, al olvidar absolutamente semejantes beneficios, no mostró á los judíos tanta benevolencia como merecían estos para sus recientes servicios. . . no hay quien absuelva al Rey Católico de la nota de ingratitud que contra él resulta, ni quien por el contrario intente. . . presentar su conducta como modelo digno de imitarse." *Estudios,* 183.

[38]Nació el pensamiento de la *unidad* política de España y nació, como no podía menos de nacer, envuelto en el de la *unidad* religiosa. Para crear, para sostener la primera, era precisa condición la segunda:...porque donde no existe uniformidad de creencias, donde no hay identidad de intereses, se estrellan en lo imposible todos los esfuerzos humanos." Ibid., 153.

[39]"estaba decretado que el siglo de los grandes crímenes y desacatos debía ser también el siglo de la expiación y de las reparaciones; y doña Isabel I. ª y don Fernando V, fueron llamados á llevar á cabo aquel justo decreto de la Providencia." Ibid., 139.

But Amador de los Ríos did not understand the Expulsion as representing the complete exclusion of the Jews from the Spanish *patria*. Rather, he considered the expelled Jews to have remained inextricably linked to Spain's destiny, endowing the Expulsion with a redemptive quality. He thus explained that as a result of "an inexplicable mystery of Providence" the Jews "scattered throughout the world, to proclaim Spain's power and bring to all peoples the traditions, the customs, the literature and the language, which would later be immortalized by such sublime geniuses as Calderón and Cervantes..."[40] Amador de los Ríos thus understood the Sephardim to be the bearers and transmitters of Spain's cultural legacy, charging them with a Spanish civilizing mission, as witnesses and advocates of a greater Spanish *patria* beyond Spain's borders.

What emerges from the *Estudios* is a particular vision of a united Catholic Spain contingent upon recovery of the *patria*'s Jewish past. This vision is constructed and upheld through a Christian redemptive narrative, in which the Jews and the Jewish past are used by Amador de los Ríos as a vehicle through which to redeem Spain from its afflictions. In turn, de los Rios' understanding of the relationship of the Jews with the *patria* paralleled Christian conceptions of the place of the Jews in Christianity. While the emergence of Christianity involved a radical breach with Judaism, the Jews continued to hold an important place in its development and self-perception: the Jews were to be witnesses to the truth of Christianity and serve as a buttress to the new-founded faith, while the Second Coming would only take place if a certain number of Jews were to be present (while the rest converted), ideas representing justifications for their continued existence. Thus, for de los Ríos, just as a Christian redemption

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[40]"y por un inexplicable arcano de la providencia, los judíos se derramaban por el mundo, para pregonar su poder y llevar á todos los pueblos las tradiciones, las costumbres, la literatura y el idioma, que habían de inmortalizar después ingenios tan sublimes como Calderón y Cervantes*."* Ibid., 202.

was predicated on the Jews and Judaism, the Jewish presence in the Iberian Peninsula supported and sustained the Spanish *patria* and had the potential of redeeming it from its perceived decay. Amador de los Ríos aimed to render Jewish history essential to the task not only of writing, but of redeeming, Spain's "*historia patria*" for Christian Spain, in the same way the Jews and Judaism are essential to the story of Christianity.

III. The Jewish Past as an Object of Debate

The publication of the *Estudios* in 1848 earned Amador de los Ríos broad national and international acclaim, and brought his appointment to the much coveted position of Numerary Academic at the prestigious Royal Academy of History.[41] On 18 February 1848, upon accepting the appointment, and in accord with proper *Academia* ritual, Amador de los Ríos delivered a lecture to the members of the Academy. While he chose to focus on the Arab influence on Spanish art and literature, in his opening remarks he stressed the importance of studying the history of Spanish Jews and Muslims, as well as its Christians: "Our historical studies should dedicate themselves with complete circumspection and impartiality to these three peoples; because the history written until our day is only an imperfect history of the Christian people, and all the efforts to recognize and appreciate the influence exercised by the Hebrews and Arabs upon Spanish civilization, have yet to be made." These comments represented both a critique of the state of historical studies in Spain and a call to move the writing of history of Spain in a new direction, one that also included the histories of Jews and Muslims while embracing "impartiality." For, Amador seemed to suggest, one could not expect to fully understand Christian Spain without studying the place of these groups in Spanish history.

[41] "Expediente académico de José Amador de los Ríos," RAH, Secretaria, leg. 101, Caja 11/8237; Circulares de 6 de Junio de 1847. Also see Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, politica y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1875-76), 4.

Amador de los Rios' choice to focus on the legacy of Muslim Spain in his inaugural speech is indicative of the close connection he perceived between Jewish and Arabic studies. Clearly, his vision of the history of Spanish Jewry and Muslims incorporated both as key elements of a Spanish Orientalism in the service of a Christian Spanish *patria* and "a Christian people."[42] Nonetheless, unlike many of his Spanish Orientalist predecessors and successors, de los Ríos was technically neither an Arabist nor a Hebraist, even though he had some working knowledge of both languages. His admitted linguistic limitations may have thus influenced the course of his study; his focus on Jewish authors who wrote in Castilian and his use of mainly non-Hebraic sources for his works on Jewish Spain lend further evidence to this speculation. Whether language served as a factor or not, de los Ríos self-consciously positioned and viewed himself as a chronicler of Spanish historia patria above all (what scholars today would refer to as a "hispanist"), his Orientalism essentially serving as a buttress to what he regarded as a complete understanding of this national history.[43]

Less than six months after the publication of the *Estudios*, the Royal Council for Public Instruction[44] unanimously approved the appointment of Amador de los Ríos as Chair of Spanish Literature in the recently reconfigured faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of

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[42]"Ya este ilustre cuerpo ha podido juzgar la importancia de estas investigaciones respecto á la raza judaica; en el presente escrito habré por tanto de molestar su atención discurriendo solamente sobre la *influencia de los árabes en las artes y literatura españolas* á fin de manifestar con cuanta razón debe entrarse en estos estudios, ya que afortunadamente cuenta la Academia en su seno con distinguidos orientalistas. Para ello confío en la sabia indulgencia de todos los Señores académicos." *Discurso pronunciado por D. José Amador de los Ríos en su solemne recepción de Académico de número de la Real Academia de la Historia sobre la influencia de los árabes en las artes y literatura españolas* (Madrid, 1848). RAH Caja 11-8132.

[43]Interestingly enough, like Amador de los Ríos, Américo Castro, the Spanish scholar who would become most central to efforts to illustrate the importance of Spain's multicultural past in twentieth-century Spain, was neither a Hebraist or an Arabist.

[44]The Royal Council for Public Instruction served in an advisory capacity to the minister on personnel and policy matters. Members included political and ecclesiastical dignitaries, appointed representatives from the three levels of public instruction, and distinguished members of "society" at large. See Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 5.

Madrid.[45] The *Estudios* proved the litmus test for his entrance into Spanish Academe: the concluding report submitted by the Council specified that it was unanimous in asserting that the *Estudios* of Amador de los Ríos, "present indisputable interest and merit, combining erudition, hard work and the illustration of new data" and recommended the government grant his petition for the Chair "as a just award" for his work on the topic.[46]

Amador de los Ríos entered the Faculty at the Universidad Central during a period of intensive reform of the Spanish University. In 1845, a new *Moderado* constitution had been instituted, and for the following twenty-five years, with minor interruptions, *Moderados* consolidated their power and took control of Spain's political machinery**.** The reform of the educational system figured prominently among their designs. During the final months of 1845, a new National plan of studies known as the Plan Pidal was introduced in Spain.[47] The new plan mandated the creation of the faculty of Philosophy and Letters, and included a stipulation which made authors of scientific or literary works approved by the Council of Public Instruction eligible for vacant professorships.[48] This reform made de los Ríos eligible for his position at the

[45]Amador de los Ríos would occupy this position for the rest of his life, with just a few short interruptions. Expediente Académico: Hoja de servicios*,* AGA Legajo 65-6; Caja 15.248.

[46]"Si puede ser varia la opinión de los literatos sobre el mejor plan que conviene adoptar en las obras de esta clase, o sobre las consecuencias que pueden deducirse de los hechos, es innegable que bajo el aspecto de la erudición, laboriosidad e ilustraciones de datos nuevos, será [el Consejo] unánime en confesar que reúnen los Estudios del señor Amador de los Ríos un interés y mérito indisputables. Así es de parecer que el Gobierno debe acceder a su solicitud [la obtención de la cátedra] como una recompensa de justicia." Session of 28 June, 1848. See de los Ríos, *Historia política*, 4-5, footnote 3.

[47] See Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 3-40 and Mariano Peset Reig and José Luis Peset Reig, *La universidad española (siglos XVIII y XIX): despotismo ilustrado y revolución liberal* (Madrid, 1974).

[48]This stipulation was included in Article 95 of the Plan of Studies, effective 7 July 1848.

University. Through it, he joined the corps of government servants who were actively involved in the implementation of the *Moderado* government's educational reforms.[49]

Further reform of the Spanish University system took place on 9 September 1857, with the *Moyano* Law of national education (named after *Moderado* Liberal Claudio Moyano). Under the new legislation, responsibility for public instruction was assigned to the ministry of development, which was given authority to regulate personnel, curricula, textbooks, examinations and degrees at all educational levels. Moreover, the *Ley Moyano* restructured the public university system, which was now definitively reorganized to include faculties of natural sciences and philosophy in addition to the traditional schools of theology, law and medicine.[50] The new education reforms proved quite favorable to Amador, as his standing and influence at the University, and in Spanish education more generally, continued to grow. In 1857, the same year the *Ley Moyano* was passed, he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, and in June of the following year he was sent by the government to visit *Escuelas de Filosofia y Letras* abroad in order to observe advances in education with the goal of later introducing them in Spain.[51]

As a result of the Liberal educational reforms, the study of Hebrew, traditionally the domain of theological schools, was also accorded the patronage of the state and officially became part of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. Its study became a central subject in the

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[49]The establishment of institutions of secondary education and the promotion of fine arts schools and academies figured among Amador de los Rios' main responsibilities in this capacity. AGA, Amador de los Ríos Expediente Académico: Hoja de servicios, AGA Legajo 65-6; Caja 15.248; and Valverde y Perales, *Historia de la Villa de Baena*, 424.

[50]On the Ley Moyano see Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 3-40.

[51]Valverde y Perales, *Historia de la Villa de Baena*, 423.

official curriculum of the major in Letters.[52] This change in the status of Hebraic studies paralleled the importance now placed on Arabic studies, which included the study of the literature and history of Muslim Spain.[53] In addition to their teaching duties at the University, Hebraists and Arabists thus became involved in state sponsored research to recover Arabic and Hebrew sources.[54] A royal decree of 21 March 1855 appointed the Arabist Pascual Gayangos and Hebraist Severo Catalina of the Universidad Central (of Madrid) as members of a commission formed by the government to examine Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts at the National library, and in 1860 Arabists and Hebraists at the Univerisdad Central in Madrid founded the first Spanish oriental society, the *Sociedad Histórica y Filológica de Amigos del Oriente*.[55] While clearly not a Hebraist, de los Ríos took interest in the study of Hebrew and developed a friendship with Antonio María García Blanco, a Liberal cleric who served as the first Chair of Hebrew under its new configuration, and studied Hebrew under Garcia Blanco's direction.[56]

While the *Estudios* had enjoyed a warm reception in Spain and guaranteed Amador de los Rios' ascent in Spanish academe and politics, the work also attained international reach, including among Jewish readers, and became the focal point of public debate. One Jewish reader

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[52]Hebrew, along with Arabic language instruction was accorded nine weekly hours in the new curriculum. See Riviére Gómez, *Orientalismo y nacionalismo*, 15.

[53]See Manuela Manzanares de Cirre, *Arabistas españoles en el siglo XIX*; Riviére Gómez, *Orientalismo y nacionalismo;* Manuel Feria García and Gonzalo Fernández Parilla eds., *Orientalismo, exotismo y traducción;* Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations*.

[54]See Riviére Gómez, *Orientalismo y nacionalismo*, and Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations*.

[55]Riviére Gómez, *Orientalismo y nacionalismo*, 47-48.

[56]Valverde y Perales, *Historia de la Villa de Baena*, 424. Maria Garcia Blanco authored the first modern Hebrew grammar in Spain. On his work see Pascual Pascual Recuero, "Un ilustre Ursaonense: El Dr. García Blanco," *Miscelenia de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos,* 21:2 (Granada, 1972): 87-122, and Enrique Martinez Ruiz, "La actuación del hebraista Garcia Blanco en las Cortes Constituyentes de 1837," *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos* 20:2 (Granada, 1971): 75-117.

was Ludwig Philippson, a prominent leader of German Jewry and editor of the distinguished *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. In 1854, two months after a *Progresista* Liberal *pronunciamiento*, Philippson presented a petition to the recently re-assembled Spanish Constituent Cortes.[57] The petition, tendered in the name of German Jewry, demanded that Spain institute the principal of *libertad de cultos* (freedom of religious worship) and that it repeal the expulsion decree of 1492.[58] Philippson reckoned the moment of 1854 as a promising one for his endeavor, as he anticipated the liberal *pronunciamiento* would bring about new liberalizing measures and create an auspicious climate for greater religious tolerance. In his appeal, Philippson recalled Spain's Jewish past in order to illuminate Spain's presumed indebtedness to the Jews, as well as exemplary precedents of religious tolerance. Interestingly, Philippson did not draw upon the works of Jewish or foreign writers in his re-construction of this historical narrative. Rather, he cited the "entirely impartial" work of a modern Spanish author, none other than de los Rios' *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España.*[59]

In Germany, Phillippson was at the fore of Jewish attempts to achieve political emancipation and, like many other German Jews of his time, viewed the Sephardic past as an

[57]The revolt temporarily upset *Moderado* rule, when on June 28, General Leopoldo O'Donnell, representing the disaffected *Moderados* issued a *pronunciamiento* calling for a new Ministry. O'Donnell came close to defeat, when on July 6, the then young politician, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo convinced him to issue a manifesto at Manzanares appealing to the *Progresistas*. O'Donnell heeded his advice and called for new Cortes as well as for several liberalizing measures and the restoration of the national militia. On July 20, Espartero who had been called in by Isabel II to head the government, joined forces with O'Donnell and established an uneasy alliance of *Progresistas* and liberal *Moderados*, known as the "Liberal Union." The new Union then called for unicameral Cortes and set out to write a new constitution.

[58]Philippson's appeal was published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, on 28 August 1854. See Aronsfeld, *The Ghosts of 1492*, 4-6 for discussion of the petition.

[59] Ibid.

ideal model of Jewish acculturation into the non-Jewish environment.[60] Nonetheless, Philippson's initiative in Spain was unique, as it connected scholarly engagement with an idealized Spanish past to the contemporary political reality of the modern Spanish nation-state, by placing concrete demands on Spain. Clearly, Philippson's reading of the *Estudios* focused on the material that would help support the myth of "Sephardi ascent,"[61] while it ignored the readily available narrative of Jewish persecution and suffering found in the same study. In his appeal, Philippson, drawing heavily on Amador de los Rios' *Estudios*, thus recalled the many contributions of the Jews to the development of Spanish culture and society and the presumed legacy of tolerance the Jews had experienced under Spanish Christian rule. He argued that this legacy of tolerance served as a clear precedent for the notion of *libertad de cultos*. Moreover, he claimed freedom of religious worship served as a measure of "civilization" and called upon Spain to establish her place among the other "civilized" and "humane" European nations who had already instituted this freedom. As far as the Edict of Expulsion was concerned, Philippson argued that the Catholic Kings had no right to expel the Jews. He viewed the decree as an extra-legal measure which violated a long-standing Spanish tradition of tolerance and argued that the Catholic Kings proved ungrateful to the Jews who had served them in many capacities and particularly during the conquest of Granada.

Amador de los Ríos did not respond favorably to Philippson´s efforts at the Cortes, and particularly to his appropriation of Spanish history for his cause. Perhaps he feared that Philippson's presentation of his work might link him to the cause of the *Progresista* radicals

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[60]For Philipson's activity on behalf of the German-Jewry and his interest in "Sefarad" see Carsten Schapkow, "Le débat sur le judaïsme sépharade dans la littérature judéo-allemande du XIX. Siécle", in Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue eds., *Les sépharades en littérature. Un parcours millénaire* (Paris, 2004), 67-80.

[61]Schorsch, *From Text to Context*, 71-92. Schorsch used this term to describe the idealization of the status the Jews had held during their tenure in Spain elaborated in the historiography produced by the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* scholars.

whose program, as a *Moderado*, he opposed. De los Rios issued his response to Philippson's appeal in the form of an article in the *Revista española de ambos mundos* in January of 1855.[62] He challenged Philippson's reading of the *Estudios* by re-visiting his own text in order to establish his opposing political position on the issue of freedom of religious worship. While Philippson's reading of the *Estudios* focused on the favorable situation of the Jews in Spain, Amador de los Rios' reading of his own text in the context of the debate completely ignored this narrative. Rather, de los Ríos now insisted the *Estudios* should be read as a narrative of Jewish incompatibility with Spain, thus excluding the possibility of Jewish redemption and denying the Jews a place in a contemporary Spanish *patria*.

Amador de los Rios' ideal of a united Christian Spanish patria clearly stood in conflict with Philippson's agenda. Amador de los Ríos understood the concept of freedom of religious worship as completely alien to the interests of Spain. Rather than guaranteeing the "intellectual, moral and religious good" for which Philippson had advocated, de los Ríos argued this liberty would sow the most terrible discord: "not a single hour would go by without one group vying for power and control over the others, instigating a tenacious struggle for power, which could only end with the defeat and perhaps the extermination of the less fortunate." He further argued that history, "the guide of life" (*maestra de la vida*) had proven this time and again, and for this reason modern nations had until then been "salvaged" from *libertad de cultos*, which he called a "terrible plague."[63]

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[62] Amador de los Ríos, "Consideraciones histórico-políticas sobre la exposición elevada a las Cortes Constituyentes de la nación española por los judíos de Alemania," *Revista Española de Ambos Mundos* 3:2 (1855): 189-212.

[63] "los bienes intelectuales, morales y religiosas…no pasaría una sola hora sin que aspirarán con iguales títulos á conquistar cada una para sí, la supremacía sobre todas las restantes, comenzando en consecuencia una lucha tenaz de poder á poder, que tomando mayor incremento con el transcurso de los años, solo podría tener fin con el vencimiento y tal vez exterminio de las menos afortunadas...Y no otras son las razones que han libertado hasta ahora

As destructive as *libertad de cultos* might be to Spain's integrity, according to Amador de los Ríos, was the idea of repealing the expulsion decree of 1492. In his response to Philippson, de los Ríos now argued that rather than warranting the reproof of historical criticism, Isabel and Ferdinand merited the "highest praise for having founded the great Spanish nation with such generous efforts." The Kings acted, he contended, in accord with the will of the Spanish people, and in the interest of Spain´s political and religious unity. Philippson's appeal thus threatened the legacy of the Catholic Kings and the very unity of Spain. Amador de los Rios asked rhetorically if it would be "wise conduct**,** to destroy, exclusively for the sake of appeasing the Rabbi from Magdenburg, the religious unity of the Spanish monarchy?" and if this were a matter worthy of "agitating and incinerating a Catholic society par excellence, like the Spanish nation?"[64]

As for the place of the Jews within a Christian nation, in his response to Philippson, de los Ríos seemed to suggest that their full assimilation, in past, present or future was untenable. He considered *libertad de cultos* unfeasible even among men of the same "race" and of shared origins (i.e. Catholics and Protestants) and argued it was even more absurd to conceive of its possibility when applied to the Jews. The Jews, he claimed, had been "ordained by Providence" to live as strangers dispersed among the nations until the end of days" and, he argued, were "outside of common law," constituting a "separate race." Given this situation, de los Ríos inquired, "how is it then possible to reconcile their religious and material interests with those of

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á las naciones modernas de esa terrible plaga, á que se ha dado el nombre de *libertad de cultos*." "Consideraciones histórico-políticas, 194.

[64]Nos parece que lejos de merecer la reprobación de la crítica histórica, son los Reyes Católicos dignos de la más alta alabanza, por haber fundado con tan generosos esfuerzos la gran nacionalidad española… ¿Sería cuerda conducta la de quebrantar, solo por complacer al rabino de Magdeburgo la *unidad religiosa* de la monarquía española? . . . ¿Ya para esto se agita y pone en combustión á una sociedad católica por excelencia, como lo es la nación española?" Ibid., 210, 212.

the rest of the nations?"[65] Moreover, de los Ríos challenged Philippson's use of Spanish history to demonstrate precedence for *libertad de cultos*. It is through this particular challenge that de los Ríos re-claimed his authority over the use of Spain's Jewish past for contemporary politics, as well as part of a greater project of writing Spain's *historia patria*. He maintained that Spanish history only served to demonstrate the absurdity of Philippson's claim and proceeded to counter his historical examples by referring back to the *Estudios*, from which Philippson had derived authority for his argument. Amador de los Ríos presented the text of Alfonso X's legislation regarding the Jews from the "Siete Partidas" in order to demonstrate that even during their period of greatest prosperity and cultural efflorescence, though the Jews and their religion were tolerated, this tolerance did not by any means approximate *libertad de cultos*. He explained that the only tolerance the Jews experienced in Medieval Spain derived from royal authorities and did not extend to the rest of Spanish society.[66] Rather, he claimed, in contrast to what he called Philippson's "mystification" of the Sephardic past, the history of the Jews in Spain was one marked by persecutions and religious and racial antagonism, one that "placed a bottomless abyss between Jews and Spaniards when Isabel and Ferdinand rose to the throne of Castille."[67] Amador de los Rios' concluded that this "abyss" served as yet another reason it would be impossible to "grant the Jews *libertad de cultos*" even in the present.

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[65]Ibid., 194-195.

[66]This idea, inspired by some of the accounts of the sixteenth-century Iberian Jewish chroniclers such as Ibn Verga, was later explored and nuanced by contemporary Jewish historians, notably, Salo Baron and Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, as the "royal alliance." See for example, Yosef Haim Yerushalmi, *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the Shebet Yehudah* (Cincinnati, 1976).

[67] "La historia es contraria de todo punto á semejante demanda, manifestando de una manera palpable que no solo el antagonismo de religión, sino la invencible antipatía de raza, exacerbada de una y otra parte por el odio de las persecuciones, ponía entre hebreos y españoles, al subir Isabel y Fernando al trono de Castilla, un insondable abismo." "Consideraciones histórico-políticas," 205. Amador also reproached Philippson for not listing among what he deemed "contributions of the Jews to Spain and Spanish culture" the many Jewish converts who contributed to the science of Christianity, 190-192.

Philippson's appropriation of the *Estudios* had displeased Amador de los Rios on more than one level. Amador de los Rios defined Spain as a Catholic nation above all, and as such he suggested only a Catholic Spaniard like himself was qualified for the task of engaging with Spanish history and its contemporary implications. Thus, Philippson, "a man who does not even bear a Castilian surname", and "who does not even speak in the name of the descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492", was unfit for such an endeavor. Moreover, he noted Philippson's Jewishness as an impediment to a balanced rendering of Spanish history. Notably, this tension would resurface in Amador's dealings with other Jewish historians who were to engage with his work. [68]

Although Philippson's efforts proved ineffective in achieving the reforms he sought, they generated a considerable amount of debate. The newly formed Democratic Party embraced the Philippson proposal and proposed the establishment of *libertad de cultos* immediately, occasioning reaction from across the political spectrum. Supporters and detractors of the proposal expounded upon Spain's Jewish medieval past in their presentations at the Cortes. The majority of both *Progresista* and *Moderado* liberals viewed this moment as an occasion to condemn the intolerance of the Church and the Inquisition, as well as the decision to expel the Jews, while stopping short of actually approving the establishment of *libertad de cultos.* National historian Modesto Lafuente, a proponent of this position, described how religious intolerance had redounded to the detriment of Spanish civilization and expressed some of the same reservations as Amador de los Rios regarding the legality of the Expulsion, while

[68]"Y bastará a tan gran resolución la demanda de un hombre, respetable acaso por su ingenio ó por su ciencia, más incompetente para semejante representación; de un hombre que ni lleva apellido de origen castellano, no habla siquiera á nombre de los descendientes de los judíos expelidos de España en 1492?... si bien inclina la balanza histórica más de una vez al lado de los suyos y calla con todo esmero aquellos hechos que pueden hacer algún tanto sospechosa su lealtad para los cristianos...," Ibid. 211, 190. Notably, this tension would resurface in Amador's dealings with other Jewish historians who were to engage with his work.

conceding the Kings had little choice as they acted under pressure of popular hatred of the Jews. Like de los Rios, however, he opposed *libertad de cultos*, arguing that destroying Spain's religious unity would result in social upheaval and threaten the traditions, beliefs and needs of the country. Meanwhile, on the right, the Carlist and neo-Catholic press defended Spain's medieval measures against the Jews and warned the Spanish public of an imminent threat of Protestant and Jewish immigration if *libertad de cultos* were instituted.[69]

While the Democratic proposal was narrowly defeated by a vote of 103 against 99, article fourteen of the new constitution enacted in 1856 recognized "liberty of conscience" regarding religious ideas, while designating that Catholicism remain Spain's official religion.[70] However, the constitution never quite went into effect, as the *Progresistas* soon lost power and the Constitution of 1845 was reinstituted, along with other *Moderado* institutions. Nonetheless, the issue of religious freedom remained a contentious one, as *Progresistas* and Democrats continued to view its role as central in the struggle against Spain's reactionary forces. Such debates also resonated with the debates on the viability of Jewish citizenship beyond the Pyrenees. Although Spain did not contend with a tangible 'Jewish Question' like other European nations, the discussion of libertad de cultos, much of which centered on Amador de los Rios' work, demonstrates the way Jews figured into the emergent question of defining Spain and Spanishness, just as it did in emerging debates over national identity and the so-called 'Jewish Question' elsewhere in Europe.

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[69]See also Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo en España*, 120-122 and Aronsfeld, *Ghosts of 1492*, 6.

[70]Richard Herr explains that the article may in part be understood as a diplomatic move to curry favor among British public opinion, as the British Foreign Bible society had been proselytizing for Protestantism in Spain since 1830s and this legalized their situation. Richard Herr, *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain* (California, 1974).

The issue would resurface several years later, when Spain invaded Morocco in 1859. During the invasion, which came to be known as the "African War" (1859-1860), Spanish soldiers and journalists encountered Morocco's Judeo-Spanish speaking population. These Jews, according to the Spanish accounts, published in the form of newspaper articles, memoirs, and literary texts, greeted the Spaniards as liberators and rallied around the Spanish troops, who generally welcomed the encounter. This encounter resonated quite widely in Spain as numerous accounts of the war were published in the form of newspaper articles, memoirs, and literary texts.[71] In these accounts, the Jew is generally cast as an intermediary between Spaniard and Muslim, who dwells on the 'fringes' of the patria, vying to affirm his membership in it. Moreover, the Muslims are represented as a common enemy and the Spaniards as the paternal liberators of the Jews, who had come to redeem them from their oppressive and 'barbarous' hosts. The North African Sephardim were thus shown to have eagerly embraced the Spaniards and Spain as their lost "Mother patria."[72]

As various scholars have argued, the war in Africa was part of a greater effort to 'restore' honor to the Spanish patria and resuscitate its imperial glory. Moreover, the war must be understood against the contemporary backdrop of the exponential growth of European colonial possessions and activity, and Spain's attempts to re-cast itself as an imperial contender. [73]

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[71]See for example Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, *Diarios de un testigo de África* (Madrid, 1859).

[72]In 1905, Benito Pérez Galdos, Spain's most well-known and celebrated nineteenth-century novelist and author of a series of historical novels, *Los episodios nacionales*, published the novel *Aitta Tettauen* (Madrid) which formed part of this series and discussed the Jewish-Spanish encounter in Morocco during the war as one of its central topics. For contemporary scholarly discussion of this encounter see Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo en* España, 122-131 and Isabelle Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews*, 19-25. See also, Pura Fernández, "La literatura del siglo XIX y los orígenes del contubernio judeo-masónico-comunista," Iacob M. Hassán and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito, eds., *Judíos en la literatura española: IX Curso Cultural Hispanojudía y Sefardí de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha* (Cuenca, 2001), 301-351.

[73]Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations*; Sebastián Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford, 2002).

Interestingly, the official discourse about the war often took shape in the form of historical claims, not concerning the more recent Spanish Empire in the Americas, but rather about the "Reconquest" of Spain from the Muslims in the Middle Ages, and took on not only a civilizing mission, but an evangelical one. Spain's African war proved an undertaking which inspired many intellectuals, including Amador de los Ríos, to rally around this patriotic and colonialist venture and to play important roles in shaping and defining this nationalist project.[74]

Amador de los Rios' support for Spain's colonial involvement in North Africa is most clearly apparent in an ode he composed upon the occupation of Tetuan in 1860.[75] The ode presents an image of an eternal Spain whose historical destiny and trajectory may be traced back to her medieval past. Calling upon Spain to "Arise alas, Oh my sweet patria!...from the shameful dream, in which your breath has drowned" and to reclaim her "heroic stature", Amador de los Ríos cast Spain as the liberator and redeemer of a "sorrowful Africa, condemned to perpetual barbarism" just as it had "liberated" Granada "the object of its envy" from the Muslims in 1492.[76] He depicted the Africa war as a direct extension of the "Reconquista", portraying Queen Isabel II as the direct successor of Isabel the Catholic, and redeeming Spain by reclaiming the glory her ancestor had earned Spain upon the conquest of Granada in 1492:

"Rejoice, Queens, rejoice! . . . You who redeemed
Granada from the Muslim yoke;
And you who restored to the Iberian people
Its heroism of ages past.[77]

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[74]Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations*, Riviére Gómez, *Orientalism y nacionalismo.*

[75]José Amador de los Ríos, *Victorias de Africa: oda de D. José Amador de los Ríos, y canto en octavas, con motivo de la toma de Tetuan por D. Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado: Composiciones leídas á SS. MM. en presencia de SS. AA. los sermos. infantes Duques de Montpensier* (Madrid, 1860).

[76]Sus! á vencer!...El África infelice, á perpétua barbárie condenada, envidiando la suerte de Granada,su esclavitud maldice." Ibid., 3-4.

[77]Ibid., 10.

Finally, he affirmed the belief that divine providence had ordained that in Africa, Spain, "the downtrodden patria" would "realize" a new "golden age."[78]

But the unifying appeal of the Africa war for many Spanish politicians and intellectuals did not prevent renewed domestic political conflict, particularly stemming from the divide between *Progresistas*, democrats and *Moderados*. The University of Madrid increasingly became a forum for political conflict. In 1864, Professor Emilio Castelar, a leading Democrat and one of the leading advocates of religious liberty, published an attack on the queen, and First Minister Ramón María Narváez responded by removing Castelar from his *Cátedra* of Spanish history. When the faculty and students protested, demanding academic freedom in the classroom (*libertad de cátedra*), Narváez sent in the Civil Guard, resulting in nine students killed and one hundred wounded. To add insult to injury, all professors were required to take an oath of loyalty to the Monarchy and the Catholic religion; those who refused lost their positions.[79]

Moderado repression soon came to an end with the liberal revolution of 1868, also known as *La Gloriosa*, and the issue of *libertad de cultos* and Spain's Jewish past came to the fore yet again. On September 28, of 1868, General Juan Prim, military champion of the progressives, in alliance with Liberal Unionist general Francisco Serrano and Admiral Juan Bautista Topete, landed at Cádiz and issued a *pronunciamiento* against the Queen and in favor of the reestablishment of a constitutional monarchy. Isabel fled to France, and revolutionary juntas took over the large cities. In Madrid, the Democrats coerced Prim and Serrano into satisfying their demands for a constituent *Cortes* elected by universal suffrage and for the proclamation of

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[78]"Gozad! . . . Que Dios derrama su tesoro de la abatida patria en la cabeza, y á realizar en África ya empieza VUESTRO SUEÑO DE ORO." Ibid.

[79] See Herr**,** *Modern Spain*, 104.

freedom of religion and the press.[80] Petitions similar to that of Philippson once again were made by French, German and British Jews who anticipated the gains to be made on the issue of religious tolerance.[81] A new constitution was eventually proclaimed by the Cortes on 6 June of 1869, with Article 21 establishing *libertad de cultos*, under the condition that the state continue to finance the Catholic religion.[82]

While the decision to institute *libertad de cultos* now passed by a majority of 164 to 40, with 76 Republicans abstaining, it did so only following heated debate.[83] The debates over the Constitution of 1869 featured the disparate visions of Spain which had developed over the course of the century: a semi-secular liberal vision on one hand, and a Catholic-conservative vision on the other. As in 1854, Spain's medieval past played a central role in these political debates, particularly those relating to libertad de cultos, and the Jews once again became a subject of contention. On April 12, 1869, during a widely publicized debate at the *Cortes* between the leading Republican politician of the day and Chair of Spanish history at the University of Madrid, Emilio Castelar, and the Carlist senator Vicente Manterola, the work of Amador de los Ríos once again served as a point of reference. Manterola, who represented the neo-Catholic Carlists, argued against *libertad de cultos*, in defense of Spain's Catholic unity. Spanish identity was indelibly marked by its Catholicism, he argued, and the liberal constitution was "not Catholic enough"; for, the "Spanish *pueblo*, oh, the Spanish *pueblo* was the most Catholic *pueblo*

[80]During the revolutionary sexennium (1868-1874), "libertad de enseñanza" (the right to establish a school) and "libertad de cátedra" (academic freedom in the classroom) proved among the fundamental triumphs of the Progressives in the Constitution of 1869. See Demetrio Castro, "The left: from liberalism to democracy", Alvarez Junco and Shubert, eds., *Spanish History Since 1808*, 86-90.

[81] For discussion of these petitions see Aronsfeld, *The Ghosts of 1492,* 8-10.

[82]Antonio Pirala, *Historia Contemporanea, Vol. 1*(Madrid: 1875), Herr, *Modern Spain,* 53.

[83]Aronsfeld, *Ghosts of 1492*, 12.

in the world."[84] Castelar, on the other hand, defended the Constitution in the name of the liberal battle cry of the French Revolution, "liberty, equality and fraternity of all mankind" as well as in the "name of the Gospel." Nonetheless, for both Manterola and Castelar the lynchpin to Spain's identity resided in Spain's medieval past. Castelar condemned the intolerance of the medieval Church and Inquisition, but also evoked a contrasting medieval Spanish tradition of enlightened tolerance. He argued that the persecution of the Jews had impoverished Spain and that "in depriving herself of the Jews, Spain deprived herself of an infinity of names who might have been the luster and the glory of the country", and proceeded to name Spinoza and Disraeli as examples.[85]

In his retort to Castelar, Manterola rushed to defend Spain's medieval intolerance and particularly the actions of the Church and its champions. While he condemned anti-Jewish massacres, he explained the persecution of the Jews by citing passages from the Talmud which, he alleged, called for the deception and extermination of Christians. In his defense of Vicente Ferrer, whom Castelar blamed for inciting the massacre of thousands of Jews through his incendiary preaching at the pulpit of the Cathedral of Toledo, Manterola referred to de los Rios' *Literatura general Espanola.* Manterola alleged that Amador had demonstrated how Vicente Ferrer's sermons neither directly nor indirectly caused the massacre of the Jews.[86] Just as Ludwig Philippson had invoked the work of Amador de los Ríos as an authority on Spanish

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[84]"porque el pueblo español, oh, el pueblo español es el pueblo mas Católico del mundo", *Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Constituyentes*, sesión de lunes 12 de Abril de 1869, N 47: 976-977. Also cited in Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en Espana*, 133-134 and Aronsfeld, *The Ghosts of 1492*, 12. Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, 433-436, also discusses this debate. The word *pueblo* in this context may be translated as "the people" or "nation".

[85]*Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Constituyentes*, sesión de lunes 12 de Abril de 1869, N 47: 976-977.

[86]*Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Constituyentes*, sesión de lunes 12 de Abril de 1869, N 47, 978-979.

medieval history in 1854 in order to demand the institution of *libertad de cultos*, Manterola now invoked the work of Amador de los Ríos in order to defend his own vision of a Catholic Spain.

VI. Jewish History as "Historia Patria"

While Amador de los Rios was being cited as an authority in the political debates of the 1868 revolution, his academic position came under scrutiny and his chaired professorship at the university was suspended on 4 December 1868. Amador de los Rios' strong *Moderado* affiliation, which explains his appointment as Vice Rector of the Universidad Central by a decree of 29 October 1867 and as Director of the National Museum of Archaeology on 2 February, 1868, is the most likely explanation for his suspension.[87] During the two years his university position was suspended, Amador de los Ríos completed his definitive work on the Jews of Spain, the *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal***.**[88]

On the surface, the *Historia* simply appears to be an expanded version of the historical section of the *Estudios*. The 1109-page work is divided into three volumes of ten chapters each, including a final section of illustrations and documents which correspond to each volume. The first volume recounts the period of the arrival of the Jews in Spain up until the death of Kings Jaime I of Aragon and Alfonso X of Castile in 1284. The second volume discusses the situation of the Jews during the late thirteenth century, the devastation experienced by the different Jewish communities as a result of the massacres of 1391, the aftermath of the preaching of Vincent Ferrer, the anti-Jewish legislation of the early fifteenth-century in the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, and the Disputation of Tortosa (1413-1414). The final volume considers the situation of

[87]"Expediente Académico de Amador de los Ríos," Hoja de servicios, AGA Legajo 65-6; Caja 15.248.

[88]The *Historia* was published in three editions. It was originally published in Madrid in 1875-1876. The second edition was published in Buenos Aires in 1943 and the third in Madrid in 1960; the edition I cite here.

the Jews in the kingdom of Juan II of Castile and the expulsion of the Jews from Aragon and Castile in 1492 and from Navarre in 1498. It also surveys the travails of the conversos in Spain and Portugal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He concluded this volume with a chapter in which he described Spain's relationship with the descendants of the Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492, from the seventeenth century onward to the present, and particularly the different attempts to legally readmit them into Spain.

As with the *Estudios*, de los Ríos mainly relied on published sources, though he incorporated a somewhat greater number of original documents than in the previous study. Despite the similarities between the two texts, a shift in tone in the *Historia* is apparent, as is a change in Amador de los Ríos' motives in writing the history. While in his "Note to the Reader" in the *Estudios* he gingerly prodded the reader to be open and interested in this novel topic, a reading of his "Note" in the *Historia* indicates that during the three decades between the publications of the two works, the history of the Jews of Spain, as well as Amador de los Rios' authority over the subject, inspired considerable debate and challenges. In fact, Amador de los Rios informs the reader that he had thoroughly considered and reflected upon the criticism of the *Estudios*, as well as the scholarship published on the subject by Christian and Jewish scholars since then.

Moreover, while writing *historia patria* remained Amador de los Rios' main objective, his understanding of how exactly one should write *historia patria*, as well as the urgency it entailed, had changed. By 1876, he appeared more emotionally invested in the writing of this history, and considered its writing a moral obligation, as he claimed it "might teach us important lessons for the present and future." De los Ríos contended not only that the Jews were protagonists in the development of "Spanish civilization" as he had in the *Estudios*, but that

Spain was greatly indebted to the Jews for this role. Amador de los Rios' earlier conception of his work as providing an important contribution to the understanding of Spanish "civilization," thus had evolved into a more committed and even personal form of paying homage to the place of the Jews in the Spanish patria.

Amador de los Ríos indicated in the *Historia* that above all, the imperative of writing national history entailed upholding the values of impartiality and justice and refraining from any form of political partisanship. This idea stemmed from de los Ríos' arguments regarding the use and misuse of Spain's Jewish history by Jews and non-Jews alike and the partisan politics that continued to divide Spaniards. He tried to distance himself from all forms of partisanship by assuring the reader that:

> We have never believed that it is licit for the historian to separate his heart and his intelligence from the inflexible staff and faithful scales of justice; therefore, upon publishing the *Estudios historicos* in 1848…, and now, upon sketching the *Historia social*...with a larger volume of documents and with greater rigor, we have refrained at all costs from covering our head with the tefillin of the Jews, as we have from covering our chests with the crest of the Holy Office.[89]

Now, de los Ríos espoused the writing of Spanish history as a sacred mission that placed history in the service of the *patria*, rather than narrow partisanship. He understood history as serving a higher purpose. This higher purpose entailed the forging of a sense of cohesive Christian nationhood or "patria" in Spain. As such, writing *historia patria* for Amador de los Ríos entailed upholding the concepts of justice, objectivity, reason and faith or passion for the patria all at once. Moreover, while he distanced himself from both Jewish and Christian partisanship, he also welcomed the approval of these two groups, as he proudly declared that despite the

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[89]"Jamás hemos creído que es lícito al historiador apartar su corazón y su inteligencia de la inflexible vara y fiel balanza de la justicia; por eso, al publicar en 1848 los Estudios históricos...y al trazar ahora, con mayor copia de documentos y mayor severidad expositiva, la Historia social...hemos esquivado con todo empeño así el cobijar nuestra cabeza con el tephilin de los judíos como el cubrir nuestro pecho con el escudo del Santo Oficio." *Historia*, 7-8.

"contradictory opinions" of his study, no one would be able to deny him the "honor of impartiality", which "Catholic as well as most Protestant and Jewish scholars" had generally accorded him. Notably, de los Ríos singled out "Rabbi Ludwig Philippson of Magdenburg's" positive assessment of his *Estudios*, as "entirely impartial."[90]

An examination of the historical events that transpired in the years between the writing of the two studies, as well as the engagement of different scholars with Amador de los Rios' work, may suggest an explanation for these shifts. As the narrative of the *Historia* reveals, the political issue that most troubled de los Ríos proved not to be *libertad de cultos*, but the separatism of the Carlists. He viewed the Carlists as responsible for much of Spain's civil strife, and was even personally affected by their fighting when one of his sons was killed by a Carlist grenade in 1876.[91] It is therefore quite likely that de los Rios' aversion to the Carlist brand of Catholic extremism and political partisanship compelled him to tone down some of his overt Catholic rhetoric, while it also brought his own brand of Catholicism, one distinguished by a liberal humanism, into sharper relief.

Indeed, while Amador de los Ríos had already expressed his criticism of religious fanaticism in his discussion of forced conversions and religious violence against the Jews in the *Estudios,* this critique became more emphatic in the *Historia.* De los Ríos used the past to illustrate the dangers of religious extremism for contemporary Spain, as he contended that within the Iberian Peninsula the nineteenth century had presented to "the face of the world a most analogous spectacle", a reference to the Carlist war, which he perceived as "one of the most

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[90] "por más contradictorios que pudieran ser los juicios de los doctos sobre el valor literario o histórico de mis nuevas tareas, nadie llevaría su injusticia hasta su punto de negarme el galardón de la imparcialidad, que me han otorgado no ya solamente los escritores católicos, sino en general los protestantes y los judíos." Ibid., 4.

[91] Further tragedy struck Amador de los Ríos in the very same month and year, when his oldest son, Gonzalo, was killed while working as a physician attending patients in a military hospital in Havana, Cuba.

unjust, bloody and cruel wars Spain had ever mourned." The instigators of this war, de los Ríos claimed, "rallied the fanaticized popular masses in the name of God", and that among them "there was no dearth of priests of the likes of a Ferrán Martínez…," who "impiously and barbarically spilled the blood of their brothers, naming them heretics." In drawing these parallels between present and past, Amador believed "future generations would come to learn from the very comparison of the facts" the enduring dangers born of religious fanaticism.[92]

And yet, Amador de los Ríos continued to view the debate over *libertad de cultos* as an impediment to Spain's well-being and unity. In the last part of the *Historia* Amador de los Ríos reflected on the decision of the Liberal *Cortes* to proclaim the much debated freedom in the constitution of 1869, indicating his skepticism and unease about this choice: "The spectacle presented for our contemplation by the Constituent Cortes of 1869, and which Spain offered us for the last eight years, truly brings the most anguished vacillation and the most bitter uncertainty to our spirit as historians."[93] Clearly, for Amador, this issue was far from being resolved:

> Sensible men, removed from any petty interest and warped passion, and free from any sort of political and religious fanaticism, contemplating the events of the present with a calm mind and a tranquil heart, do not see, nor can they see in these events any clear proof or sign suggesting that the Spanish nation has definitively resolved the problem presented by the Jews of Germany to the Constituent Cortes of 1854.[94]

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[92]"Pero el siglo XIX ha presentado ya a la faz del mundo, dentro de la Península Ibérica, hasta por tres Veces muy análogo espectáculo...termina felizmente por el poder de la fuerza en las montañas vascas, una de las más injustas, sangrientas y crueles guerras que jamás ha llorado España. Sus promovedores, llevados sórdidamente de intereses mundiales, han lanzado en ella, invocando el nombre de Dios, a las fanatizadas masas populares, no habiendo faltado sacerdotes que, como...un Ferrán Martínez, un Rodríguez Lucer y tantos otros, hayan enarbolado, como bandera de exterminio, la Cruz del Gólgota, para derramar impía y bárbaramente la sangre de sus hermanos, apellidándolos herejes...las generaciones futuras aprenderán a conocer, con la mera comparación de los hechos, que esta pobre humanidad, sojuzgada por el error y movida casi siempre de inicuas pasiones, no olvida, a pesar de la luz que la rodea, sus hábitos de crueldad, sus delirios y su barbarie, *Historia,* 485-486.

[93]"El espectáculo que presentaron a nuestra contemplación las Cortes Constituyentes de 1869, y el que nos ha ofrecido España durante los ocho postreros años, traen en verdad a nuestro ánimo, como historiadores, la vacilación más angustiosa y la más acerba incertidumbre." Ibid., 852.

[94]"Los hombres sensatos, que ajenos a todo mezquino interés y torcida pasión, y libres de todo fanatismo político o religioso, contemplan los hechos de actualidad con mente serena y corazón tranquilo, no ven, no pueden

By recalling the Philippson episode of 1854 in this context, Amador de los Ríos granted Philippson and the Jews a critical place (albeit an antagonistic one) in shaping Spain's present. Amador de los Ríos moreover believed this conflict presented a pivotal crisis for Spain, indicating the present was a moment of "profound crisis for this transcendental question, which each day makes the combative spirit of the political factions more arduous and horrific."[95]

Amador de los Rios' anxieties over these questions were shared by his contemporaries. It is thus perhaps no coincidence that around the same time Amador de los Ríos published his *Historia*, Benito Pérez Galdos, Spain's most celebrated nineteenth-century novelist and loyal chronicler and champion of *historia patria*, chose to write his novel "Gloria (1877)."[96] In the novel, the protagonist David Morton, a Sephardic Jew from England, falls in love with Gloria Lantigua, a traditional Catholic Spaniard, after being shipwrecked in Spain. While the novel incorporates fervent critique of religious fanaticism, Galdós also engages many of the very same themes Amador probed in his recovery of the Jewish past: Could the Sephardim be considered Spanish? Were they loyal or disloyal to the Spanish *patria*? Did the religious conversion of the Jews present a viable conduit to Spanishness? Was religious fanaticism a Christian trait or did it also extend to Jews? In the tragic ending of this interfaith love story, Galdós seems to suggest that while Sephardic Jews might indeed be Spanish, they were as fanatical as Christians in their adherence to their faith, and that this characteristic may have in part also brought about the tragic ending of their historical presence in Spain. While it is unclear whether the two men were in dialogue with each other, Galdós' widespread popularity and the appearance of the works at

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ver en estos sucesos inequívoca prueba ni señal segura de que se halle resuelto definitivamente por la nación española el problema propuesto por los judíos de Alemania a las Cortes Constituyentes de 1854..." Ibid., 852-853.

[95]"son por el contrario momentos de profunda crisis para esta trascendental cuestión, que va haciendo cada día más ardua y pavorosa el contradictorio espíritu de las banderías políticas." Ibid.

[96]Benito Pérez Galdos, *Gloria* (Madrid, 1984).

roughly the same time seems to indicate that at the very least, the question of *libertad de cultos* remained a pressing one for many Spaniards, and that evoking the Jewish past in this context constituted a familiar if shared point of reference.

The question of Jewish loyalty and partisanship continued to trouble Amador de los Ríos as well, as is evident in the *Historia*. One example is his discussion of the Jewish role in the civil wars of Navarre and Castile. De los Ríos held the Jews accountable for their participation in the civil wars in Navarre and Castile and offered his unforgiving opinion of such involvement: "The Jewish people, so indiscreet, to take part in the domestic disturbances of the Christians, so unjust and imprudent, as to take up arms in favor of one party or another, has paid with horrible usury for its errors."[97] His expectation that the Jews remain neutral in the face of national discord, related to his idealization of a form of citizenship which disavows partisan conflict and sectarianism in the name of a shared commitment to the patria. Amador de los Ríos thus imagined the Jews as the bearers of these ideals and values; their transgression of those values made them in his view guilty of disgracing the patria, in ways ultimately resulting in their exclusion.

Amador de los Ríos also extended his critique of Jewish partisanship to the present, through his reaction to the German Jewish historians who had written about the history of the Jews of Spain and engaged with his work in the process.[98] He contended that an "objective" study on the topic was particularly important given what he considered the failure of Jewish authors to deal

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[97]"el pueblo judío, tan indiscreto, al tomar parte en los disturbios domésticos de los cristianos, como injusto e imprudente, al armar su diestra en pro de una bandería determinada, había pagado como horrible usura sus errores." Ibid., 258.

[98]For example, Meyer Kayserling, *Die Juden in Navarra, den Baskenlaendern und auf den Balearen* (Berlin, 1861); Meyer Kayserling, *Sephardim: Romanische poesien der Juden in Spanien. Ein beitrag zur literatur und geschichte der spanisch-portugiesischen Juden* (Berlin, 1859); Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart, in dreizehn Bänden* (Leipzig, 1853).

dispassionately with the topic. Namely, he argued that in addition to considering the suffering of Jews, one must not ignore their "lack of discretion, mistakes, and even the crimes they committed."[99] In his survey of the divergent views of historians about the Edict of Expulsion of 1492, de los Ríos faulted Jewish historians for their inability to present an "objective" and "just" study of the Edict. He particularly faulted "the Jewish narrators" for "reveling in such rude protests and bitter lamentations, that it would be useless to expect from them either an instance of impartiality or a grain of justice…"[100]

The Jewish historian whose challenges proved most unsettling to de los Ríos was Mayer Kayserling. In one instance, he chided Kayserling for not indicating that the Jews took sides in the civil war of Navarre (a decision de los Ríos felt had to a large degree determined their catastrophic fate) suggesting that he was "unfamiliar with the facts." De los Ríos declared that "We, who neither defend nor persecute the Jews, without suspecting that this distinguished historian would have deliberately distorted the facts, judge it to be the indispensable duty to present the facts as they are, giving them their proper significance and true coloring…in these, as in other occasions, it would be a lack of historical integrity to absolve the Jews for the responsibility their imprudence and intemperance brought upon them."[101] Amador de los Ríos thus naturally accused Kayserling, and by extension all Jewish historians, of being incapable of

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[99] *Historia*, 64.

[100] "En particular difieren muy por extreme los narradores judíos, encerrándose los mas en tan rudas protestas y amargas lamentaciones, que fuera inútil esperar de ellos un instante de imparcialidad, ni un punto de justicia." Ibid., 759.

[101] "pareció desconocer estos hechos."; "La relación de los hechos y los documentos que alegamos prueban hasta qué punto estaba enterrado el doctor Kayserling de estos acontecimientos. . . Nosotros, que ni defendemos ni perseguimos a los judíos, sin sospechar que este distinguido historiador haya desnaturalizado a sabiendas los hechos, nos juzgamos en el imprescindible deber de presentarlos tales como son, dándoles su propia significación y verdadero colorido. En estas como en otras ocasiones, sería faltar a la integridad histórica el absolver a los judíos de la responsabilidad que echaron sobre ellos su imprudencia y su intemperancia." *Historia,* 258, footnote 1.

writing an objective history of Spain's Jewish past; insinuating that they shared their ancestors' failings.

Amador de los Ríos' extension of Jewish sins of the past to the Jews of the present, and his claims to exclusive rights to write the history of the Jews of Spain, came to the fore most explicitly in his response to a critique Kayserling had made of the *Estudios*. Kayserling had taken de los Ríos to task for his contention that one of the underlying reasons for the decision to expel the Jews was their proselytizing activity among the Christians, an activity which, de los Ríos argued, seriously hampered Spain's religious and political unity. Kayserling also chided de los Ríos for rejecting the opposing claim, expressed by sixteenth-century former converso Isaac Cardoso, who exculpated the Jews of any proselytizing activity. This infuriated de los Ríos, who responded that the "Jewish German writer M. Kayserling assaults us of with the most venomous blows…and even accuses us of malevolent intentions." Amador de los Ríos characterized this "inopportune" attack as "clearly born out of the most painful historical blindness." For, he proclaimed, "Doctor Kayserling appears here, just like the relapsed Cardoso, condemned en masse by the entire history of the Hebrew generation on Spanish soil, and even more so by the testimony of all the Israelites who foreswore Talmudism during the Middle Ages."[102]

The comparison Amador de los Ríos drew between Kayserling and Cardoso suggested an even broader analogy. The partisanship of the Jews in the twelfth-century placed the patria at risk; in parallel fashion, Kayserling's lack of historical objectivity jeopardized the project of

[102]"Atesta contra nosotros el escritor judío alemán M. Kayserling muy envenenados tiros, cuyos golpes hieren, sin embargo, directamente su propia persona. Escandalízale el haber contradicho nosotros las afirmaciones de Isaac Cardoso, hijo de padres conversos quien vuelto al mosaísmo, negó respecto de los judíos el hecho del proselitismo sobre los cristianos . . . Irritado por extremo, nos acusa el doctor Kayserling hasta de no bien intencionados. Pero esta intempestiva acusación es ciertamente hija de la más dolorosa ceguedad histórica. El doctor Kayserling aparece aquí, como el relapso Cardoso, condenado en masa por toda la historia de la generación hebrea en el suelo español, no menos por que el testimonio de todos los israelitas que durante los tiempos medios abjuraron el talmudismo." *Historia*, 728, footnote 1. See also *Historia,* 656, footnote 2, for Amador's response to Kayserling's challenge of his discussion of the influence of the events of 1391 on the future of the Jews of Navarre.

writing Spain's *historia patria*, rendering him unfit to partake in its writing. This implicit analogy effectively allowed de los Ríos to assert his own position of privilege in recovering the Jewish past on the one hand, and to exclude Jewish historians like Keyserling from this process, on the other.

But even so, Amador de los Ríos' conclusions regarding the denouement of normative Jewish life in the Iberian Peninsula indicate a shift in his thinking about the place of the Jews in the patria, as he began to identify with the object of his study to a degree that even he conceded might undermine his own ability to remain dispassionate. In the introduction to the *Historia* Amador confessed that writing about the persecution of the Jews and their expulsion pained him greatly and even caused him to consider terminating his project. Moreover, in what is perhaps the most significant departure from the *Estudios,* de los Ríos refrained from justifying the decision of the Catholic Kings to expel the Jews. As in the *Estudios,* he expressed concern over the legality of the Expulsion, though in this case he explicitly refers to the expelled Jews as "Spaniards" indicating that over time he had come to incorporate them more firmly in the *patria*: "Did the Catholic Kings, given the laws of the State, attain sufficient authority, to cast from their native soil, by means of a simple decree**,** so many thousands of Spanish families, who departed from Iberian soil from 1492 to 1500?..."[103] Moreover, Amador de los Ríos noted that in their exile, the Jews, "far-flung from their maternal homes, mourned their lost patria" and that they were "incapable of uprooting from either their hearts or their memory the love and the memory of the beloved patria, where the bones of their grandparents remained abandoned."[104] The shift

[103]"¿Alcanzaban los Reyes Católicos, dadas las leyes del Estado, potestad suficiente para lanzar del suelo nativo, por medio de un simple rescripto, tantos millares de familias españolas como salieron del suelo ibérico de 1492 a 1500? . . . ¿Asistía a los moradores judíos de los reinos de España el derecho de ser respetados en sus hogares, al amparo de los leyes?", *Historia,* 761.

[104]"Los judíos lloraban, lejos de los maternos hogares, su perdida patria." "Los judíos de España y Portugal, llevando a todas partes las costumbres y la lengua castellana, que se había alzado con el imperio de la

from de los Ríos' attitude in the *Estudios* is thus considerable, ironically making his critiques more akin in some respects to those made by Ludwig Philippson in his appeal to the Cortes, whose content Amador de los Ríos had so ardently protested in 1854.

Furthermore, not unlike Philippson, Amador de los Ríos scorned the ingratitude of the Catholic Kings towards the Jews, reminding the reader of the many contributions of the Jews to "Spanish Civilization", particularly in the areas of science and literature, and claimed that the Jews had "in effect, stimulated in an indirect way the growing quest for knowledge in the Christians even fraternizing with them in the cultivation of national literature."[105] As in the *Estudios,* he endowed the Expulsion with a redemptive quality (for Christian Spain), writing that "The Jews of Spain and Portugal brought to all parts the customs and the Castilian language that had emerged with the literary republic, as a live and enduring testament to the ancient nationality, in whose bosom their forefathers had once flourished." [106] In this case, however, de los Ríos extended the discussion of the Jews and Sephardim beyond the Sephardic Diaspora to the present, as he brought the work to a close with a discussion of Spanish attempts to reconcile with its legacy of intolerance and particularly with the Jews, from the eighteenth-century to his own day. While Amador de los Rios' concern with contemporary politics is implied throughout the text, this final section explicitly demonstrates his concern that the issues evoked by Ludwig Philippson's petition to the Cortes back in 1854 remained unresolved, with Spain continuing to

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república literaria, como testimonio vivo y duradero de la antigua nacionalidad, en cuyo seno habían florecido sus padres. Pero si obtenían, en medio de los infortunios que dondequiera los afligieron, la ansiada y aun costosa hospitalidad, no les era dado arrancar de sus corazones ni de su memoria el amor y el recuerdo de la patria querida, donde quedaban abandonados los huesos de sus abuelos." *Historia,* 761.

[105]habían en efecto contribuido los judíos de un modo indirecto a estimular el creciente anhelo del saber en los cristianos, hasta hermanarse con ellos en el cultivo de la nacional literatura." Ibid., 772.

[106]Ibid., 772.

confront a serious crisis involving its national religious identity that created political divisiveness and instability.

Conclusion

During the two year period of Amador de los Ríos' suspension from the University of Madrid, the Faculty and the University appealed to the government to restore his Chair in Spanish Literature. In the end, thanks to the intervention of the writer and Director of Public Instruction Don Juan Valera, de los Ríos was reinstated to his position in February 1871. [107] On 25 November of the same year, Antonio Cánovas de Castillo, the leading Conservative politician of the day and architect of Spain's restoration, extolled de los Ríos' *Historia* in his speech inaugurating the Chairs of the Scientific and Literary Ateneo of Madrid.[108] Amador de los Ríos quickly regained his political standing, as Valera appointed him Inspector General of Public Education in 1874 and the *Historia* was published between 1875 and 1876.

Upon the publication of the *Historia*, Amador de los Ríos and his work received further acclaim. In November 1877, the *Historia* was favorably reviewed in the prestigious journal of Spain's Royal Academy of History, the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*.[109] The reviewer, Manuel Colmeiro, saluted the appearance of the work as an "honor for the patria." Colmeiro lamented the state of scholarship in Spain, as "political concerns rob and perhaps even sterilize many geniuses whose work could honor the patria." He welcomed de los Ríos' *Historia* emphasizing its objectivity, a quality he equated with serious scholarship. Moreover, he stressed

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[107] "Expediente Académico de Amador de los Ríos," Hoja de servicios, AGA Legajo 65-6; Caja 15.248. Perales also writes of the intervention of Valera on behalf of Amador, 429.

[108] *Historia*, 6. The *Historia* was first presented to the Spanish public in 1870.

[109] Manuel Colmeiro, "Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal" *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 1:1 (1877): 59-67.

the importance of celebrating the appearance of Spanish works of the caliber of the *Historia*: In the "most cultured nations of Europe. . . barely is a good book published and the trumpets of fame resound, extolling and exalting the name of its author to the high heavens, becoming a subject of national pride." In Spain, in contrast, he lamented that "the best works go unnoticed, or are exclusively read and judged by a finite number of learned men." He added that if these works are to any degree esteemed, it is thanks to the "resounding praise their authors received beyond the Pyrenees."[110] Colmeiro vowed that unlike other works of its caliber, de los Ríos' *Historia* would not be overlooked.

Indeed, as Colmeiro had predicted, Amador de los Rios' success in this endeavor would not go unnoticed. So much was clear in the recognition de los Rios received upon his death in 17 February of 1878.[111] News of his death was broadly publicized among Spain's scholarly circles. The Bulletin of the Royal Academy of History (*Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*) featured an announcement of his death in the first pages of its February issue, which eulogized Amador de los Ríos, listing his many honors and inviting people to attend his burial. An array of government dignitaries and public officials joined his family in signing this death notice.[112] Amador de los Ríos was buried in the Church of the *Universidad Literaria* of Seville, directly

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[110]"Las preocupaciones de la política roban y acaso esterilizan muchos ingenios, cuyas obras podrían honrar á la patria… En los pueblos más cultos de Europa, apenas se publica un buen libro, resuenan las cien trompas de la fama, y se hace cuestión de amor propio nacional ilustrar y ensalzar hasta las nubes el nombre de su autor. En España pasan inadvertidos los mejores, ó solamente son leídos y juzgados por un corto número de eruditos. Algunos conocemos que, si en algo son estimados, lo deben al eco de las alabanzas que sus autores recogieron allende del Pirineo." Ibid., 59-60.

[111]Amador left Madrid in 1876, the same year of the publication of the *Historia* due to his poor health and after a brief stay in Cordoba and Malaga he resettled in Seville where he remained to the end of his life. *Amador de los Ríos, Expediente Académico,* AGA.

[112]BRAH, "Necrologías--Don José Amador de los Ríos," 107-08, 31. Among the signers were the Minister of Development, the General Director of Public Instruction, President of the Royal Council of Public Instruction, Rector of the Universidad Central, as well as the Directors of the Royal Academies of History and fine art of San Fernando.

under the vaults which contain the remains of the renowned Hebraists Arias Montano and Rodrigo Caro, de los Rios´ mentor Alberto Lista, and "other illustrious men, the honor of science and of national literature."[113]

Amador de los Rios' burial in this national pantheon signaled not only his recognition as a figure of national importance, but also the incorporation of Spain's Jewish past into official versions of *historia patria*. Indeed, as foreseen by Colmeiro, Amador de los Rios' work served as an inspiration and catalyst for future generations of Spanish and Jewish scholars alike. Much of the initial modern Jewish historiography on the Jews of Spain depends upon Amador de los Rios' early research into the topic. Moreover, de los Rios' work helped foster the expansion and institutionalization of the recovery of the Jewish past in Spain. By the late nineteenth-century, in its attempts to construct a national heritage, the Spanish liberal state had stepped up its collaboration with scholars and politicians dedicated to such acts of recovery at the Royal Academy of History, and other academic institutions.[114] Furthermore, de los Rios' understanding of the Sephardim as the bearers and transmitters of Spain's cultural legacy, and as witnesses and advocates of a greater Spanish *patria* beyond Spain's national borders helped to inspire Spanish Philo-Sephardic and Sephardist campaigns rooted in *Hispanidad* (the notion of the existence of a cultural and spiritual communion or 'brotherhood' among all Hispanics and former colonial subjects, grounded in a shared language and religion) which took shape at the turn of the century and endured well into the twentieth-century.[115]

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[113]"depositando su cadáver bajo las bóvedas que guardan los restos de Arias Montano, de Rodrigo Caro, de Reinoso, Lista, Fernandez Espino, Bedmar y otro ínclitos varones, honor de la ciencia y de la literatura patria." Ibid., 109.

[114]See Manzano Moreno and Pérez Garzón, "A Difficult Nation?"

[115]See Isidro González, *El retorno de los judios* (Madrid, 1991), José Antonio Lisbona, *Retorno a Sefarad: La política de España hacia sus judíos en el siglo XX* (Barcelona, 1993), Rohr, *Anti-Semitism and Opportunism,* 10-

37, and Michal Friedman "Reconquering 'Sepharad': Hispanism and Proto-Fascism in Giménez Caballero's Sephardist Crusade", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12:1 (2011): 35-60.

Chapter II

Between *Historia Positivista* and *Historia Oficial*: The Recovery of the Jewish Past at the Real Academia de la Historia (1876-1918)

In October 1884, readers of the *Diario de Córdoba* learned of the imminent arrival of "the wise historian, intellectual and archeologist R.P. Fita, who plans to remain a few days in Cordoba with the object of consulting the inscription of the ancient synagogue."[1] The government sponsored expedition to Córdoba by Fidel Fita y Colomé, Hebraist and fellow of the *Real Academia de la Historia*, was part and parcel of late nineteenth-century efforts at the historical recovery and discussion of the Jewish past. Such efforts entailed close collaboration between the Restoration state and Fidel Fita, along with other scholars of the Real Academia de la Historia, in obsessively gathering, deciphering and publishing hundreds if not thousands of Hebrew inscriptions and documents as well as in the reclamation and preservation of Jewish archeological monuments. This chapter illuminates the connections between this shift to what I term positivistic Hebraism—initiated by Fidel Fita—and the investment of the Restoration state in the endeavor of unearthing the Jewish past. Moreover, an examination of Fidel Fita's Hebraism and work at the Real Academia de la Historia illustrates the institutionalization of the study of the Jewish past in Spain and its incorporation into Spain's *historia patria oficial*, the historiography generated under the auspices of Spain's Restoration Regime (1875-1918). Finally, this chapter also demonstrates how Fita's recovery of the Jewish past for *historia oficial*

[1] "Hoy en el tren expreso es esperado en esta capital el sabio historiador, erudito y arqueólogo R.P. Fita, que se propone permanecer algunos días en Córdoba, con objeto de consultar la inscripción de la antigua sinagoga." Cited by Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita (1835-1918) Su legado documental en la Real Academia de la historia*, (Madrid, 1998), 44.

contained an ambivalence which bespoke potential fissures in hegemonic conceptions of official *historia patria* in Restoration Spain and beyond.

I explore these connections and developments through examination of a major staging ground for Restoration cultural nationalism and Spain's most prestigious academic institution at the time, the *Real Academia de la Historia* (Henceforth RAH). I explore how the recovery of the Jewish past became central to the scholarship and mission of the RAH as part of the Restoration state's attempts at forging a national identity through the writing of official national history. In this context I demonstrate how knowledge of Hebrew came to be recognized as a means of gaining access to a critical part of the wealth and cultural patrimony of the *patria*. This renewed focus on Hebraism, as well as Arabism, connected directly to and reflected Spain's attempts to redefine and reorient its colonial aspirations towards North Africa and this provided for a context for the training and privileging of Orientalists dedicated to the study of Semitic languages. Thus, from the time Amador published his *Estudios*, developments in Hebraic and Arabic studies in Spain granted a new generation of Spanish scholars access to a wealth of sources with which Amador had acknowledged his own study could not engage. I also explore how the focus on Hebraism during this period connected to attempts to modernize and professionalize the historical discipline in Spain, as part of a broader Continental trend. In pioneering a process of "recovering" Spain's Jewish legacy, Amador de los Ríos had established a critical place for Spain's Jewish past in the construction of an idea of a Spanish *patria* and set the precedent for future Spanish scholars' investigations into the Jewish past. The Córdoba expedition and others like it, however, dramatize the institutionalization of the study of the Jewish past in late nineteenth-century Spain, and suggest the modes of its incorporation into 'official' national history or *historia patria oficial*.

I. The Restoration Regime and the Construction of "Historia Patria Oficial"

In 1875, the Bourbons returned to the throne, ending the revolutionary sexennium (1868-1874) after a *pronunciamiento* orchestrated by military and civilian monarchists. Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (1828-1897), the politician who headed the Liberal Conservatives and engineered the restoration, devised a political system which sought to hold clashes at bay between rival Liberal factions, as well as attacks from the far right and left.[2] He accomplished this by drawing up a Constitution which sought a compromise between the ideals of the *Moderado* Constitution of 1845 and those of the Liberal Constitution of 1869. Moreover, Cánovas organized two political parties, a liberal-conservative one and a liberal-progressive party which would alternate rule (known as the *turno pacífico*). The king was to act as arbiter, appointing governments alternatively representative of the two parties. Political stability depended on a tacit accord between Liberals and Conservatives to alternate power and thrived on the practices of clientelism and *caciquismo*.[3]

Despite the façade of political stability, fundamental differences in the conceptualization of the State and rampant corruption scandals rendered the Restoration system precarious. As Carolyn Boyd has observed, the Constitutional monarchy viewed the Cortes and the king as the

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[2]General Arsenio Martínez Campos had issued a *pronunciamiento* in the Mediterranean town of Sagunto against the Presidency of General Francisco Serrano, turning over power to military and civilian monarchists who orchestrated the return of the Bourbons to the throne. Cánovas del Castillo had been a leader of the Liberal Union (the party that had united moderates from the *Progresistas* and the *Moderados*) and head of the small Madrid based Alfonsist Party. He now headed the Liberal Conservatives, heirs to the *Moderados* and Liberal Unionists.

[3]*Caciquismo* (derived from the Aztec word *cacique* meaning a chief) referred to a system of local political bossism. See Stephen Jacobson and Javier Moreno Luzón, "The Political System of the Restoration, 1875-1914: Political and Social Elites", José Álvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert, eds., *Spanish History since 1808* (New York, 2000), 93-109.

"internal Constitution" of Spain, placing the existence of the monarchy beyond political debate.[4] Moreover, while maintaining the individual rights of 1869 granting religious freedom, the constitution of 1876 declared Catholicism the state religion. The Conservatives thus embraced the equation of national identity and Catholic unity previously accepted by the *Moderados* while also limiting suffrage and imposing rigid controls on speech, press, education, assembly and oppositional parties. While the Catholic Union party recognized the new Constitution, the most reactionary Catholic parties, such as the Carlists, remained resistant to the new Liberal-Conservative order.[5]

The Liberals, to the left of the Conservatives, formed a heterogeneous group that aspired to reinstate the achievements of the Liberal revolution of 1868 on the one hand, while compromising with the Conservatives in the drafting of the Constitution of 1876 on the other. The most powerful of these politicians, Práxedes Mateo de Sagasta, leader of the *Progresista* Party's right wing during the Revolutionary Sexennium, proved an eager coalition builder. He was joined by what scholars have termed the "Dynastic Left" composed of democratic monarchists, many who were members of the reformist *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, which had renounced Republicanism after the debacle of the First Republic.[6] When in power during the 1880s, *Progresista* Liberals managed to accomplish the remaining objectives of 1868,

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[4]Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 99-121.

[5]For the Constitution of 1876 and Conservative policies see Richard Herr, *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain* (Berkeley, 1971), 113-132. Also, see Jacobson and Moreno Luzón, "The Political System of the Revolution," 93-98 and Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 99-121.

[6]On the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* see for example Vicente Cacho Viu, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Madrid, 1962) and Antonio Jiménez-Landi, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y su ambiente* (Madrid, 1973).

including the legislation of the right of free association, civil marriage and universal male suffrage.[7]

Nonetheless, after 1890—in the wake of corruption scandals involving electoral fraud and increased factionalism—attempts to maintain the unity of the two parties failed. The system had transformed from what was, at least legally, a democratic monarchy into an oligarchy. Even though the *turno pacífico* continued to exist, both dynastic parties radicalized their respective positions and compromise was no longer feasible. While Progresista and Conservative rivalries came to a head, the Restoration System also faced multiple fronts of political opposition among leftists (Republicans, Socialists and anarcho-syndicalists) and rightist political factions (Catholic integrists), as well as from the emergent domestic nationalist and regionalists movements in Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country.[8]

The crisis of the Restoration System culminated in what became known as the 'Disaster' of 1898: Spain's military defeat by the United States, and the resulting loss of the remnants of her colonial empire: Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.[9] The "Disaster" and the events leading up to it, brought about a crisis of Spanish national identity, which reverberated

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[7] In 1885, upon the death of Alfonso XII, Cánovas del Castillo fearing Republican and Carlist agitation and wishing to secure the loyalty of the *Progresista* Liberals, recommended that the regent, María Cristina, grant power to Sagasta. His recommendation resulted in a five year *Progresista* government. One of the most important accomplishments achieved by the *Progresistas* was the passing of the Spanish Civil Code in 1889. The code was introduced by legislator Manuel Alonso Martínez. Both civil and ecclesiastical marriages were validated (though divorce was prohibited) and the code protected many of the customary or 'foral' laws governing family and property in various regions of Spain. This last measure counterbalanced the Constitution of 1876 as it allowed for the preservation of regional heterogeneity of private law within a political order of centralized uniform public law and administration. See Richard Herr, *An Historical Essay on* Modern Spain, 113-116; Jacobson and Moreno Luzón, "The Political System of the Restoration ," 93-98.

[8] See Pamela Beth Radcliff, "The Emerging Challenge of Mass Politics", and Enric Ucelay da Cal, "The Restoration: Regeneration and the Clash of Nationalism, 1875-1914, in *Spanish History since 1808*, José Álvarez Junco Adrian Shubert eds., 136-154; 121-136. On the advent of competing nationalisms also see Also see Xosé Manoel, *Los Nacionalismos en la España Contemporánea (Siglos XIX Y XX)*, (Barcelona, 1999).

[9]See Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire 1898-1923* (Oxford, 1997).

throughout intellectual and political movements in Spain. Spain, facing existential defeat, and forced to confront the idea that it was a second rate power, now turned inward to examine its future. In this context, a corpus of literature treating the Disaster developed, as Spanish intellectuals called for Spain's recovery and "regeneration" through "change" and "progress." However, this literature, authored by some of modern Spain's most prominent thinkers, was marked by broad diversity of political opinion, ranging from arguments for Spain's need to modernize, to the argument that Spain needed to return to its traditional values.[10] Despite such crises, the *turno pacífico* was sustained until the summer of 1917 when Catalan regionalists, republicans, Socialists and anarcho-syndicalists attempted to overthrow the regime. Although they failed, from 1917-1923 Spain was governed by a series of coalitions which attempted to fuse the dynastic parties as well as include some of the opposition groups.

While much debate has been generated over the weakness of the nineteenth-century Spanish State, as Eduardo Manzano Moreno and Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón argue it certainly had sufficient strength to support and implement a program of cultural nationalism.[11] Building on earlier Romantic and Liberal efforts to articulate and justify Spain's political independence as a nation-sate, the focus of the restoration regime's cultural program was thus on the forging of a national heritage and identity which might help secure support for its political agenda. In fact,

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[10]See Javier Varela, *La novela de España: Los intelectuales y el problema español* (Madrid, 1999) and Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 41-64. On "regenerationism" see Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood*.

[11]Moreover, as these authors demonstrate, the concept of Spain which prevails to this day originated in large part in the nationalist ideology of the nineteenth-century. Manzano Moreno and Pérez Garzón, "A Difficult Nation." The debate over the role of the nineteenth-century Spanish state in nationalizing the "pueblo" dates back to the 1970s. However the majority of contemporary historians would agree that the failure to "nationalize the pueblo" was due to the weakness of the State, rather than due to an oppressive centralized state. See for example Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*. Nonetheless, in her study of the educational policies of the Liberal Spanish State, Carolyn Boyd suggests the lack of successful educational reform and hence the inability to nationalize the "pueblo" in the nineteenth century, entailed a deliberate reluctance on the part of the Liberal state to engender knowledge which had the potential of bringing about political consciousness and mobilization, as well as the pacification of rival claims on national identity. Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria*, 3-40.

the consolidation of politics and culture was perhaps the most fundamental feature of the regime's efforts in this regard. The Restoration state aimed to foster cultural nationalism through patronage of the arts, the establishment of archeological and historical museums, public monuments and patronage of scholarly academies. Moreover, as the architect of the Restoration, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, was himself a historian, it is perhaps not surprising that the regime's principal instrument in forging a national identity proved the construction of an official *historia patria*.[12]

Such developments intersected with developments elsewhere in Europe. Throughout the nineteenth-century history was being transformed into a professional and scientific discipline in Western Europe; the German model of positivism had perhaps the greatest impact on the way the discipline of history evolved in the rest of the continent. Historians embarked upon a quest for 'scientific objectivity', increasingly basing their research on a close reading of primary sources drawn from local and national archives.[13] While Spain certainly lagged behind much of Europe in producing professional historians and historical studies, there were signs that the new methodologies began to take hold and affected the way the writing of history evolved in Spain. For example, Spanish intellectuals who had witnessed the preservation of monuments and the creation of museums elsewhere in Europe embarked on explorations of Spanish historical monuments and published accounts of their findings. Moreover, Spanish cultural journals such as the *Semanario Pintoresco Español* (1836-1857) and later the *Revista de Bellas Artes y*

[12]Cánovas del Castillo spent several years in the archive at Simancas collecting documents on Spanish history and six years later became prime minister. See Peiró Martin, *Los Guardianes de la Historia.*

[13]See Georg Iggers, *The German Conception of History* and Georg G. Iggers, "The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth-Century 'Scientific History: The German Model."

Arqueología (1866-1867) helped foster the notion of the importance of such architectural monuments for the history of Spain and the importance of their preservation.[14]

Amid this heightened interest in antiquities, historical monuments and manuscripts, history finally emerged as an academic discipline in Spain. In 1856, the *Escuela Superior Diplomática* (1856) was created and began to train functionaries to work in state archives, libraries and museums and professorships of Spanish history were established in the faculties of Law and Philosophy and Letters at the university (in accord with the *Ley Moyano* of 1857). In 1858, the crown decreed the foundation of the *Archivo General Central* in Alcalá de Henares. Another royal decree founded the establishment of the *Archivo Histórico General* in Madrid in 1866. By the turn of the century, Spain would witness the transformation of history into a professional, scientific discipline in Spain. This transformation occurred in several areas including the regenerationist efforts to create formalized degree programs in history at the university level, the creation of the *Centro de Estudios Históricos* (1910) under the auspices of the *Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios y Investigaciones* Científicas, as well as through publication of an increasing number of professional historical studies.[15]

The renewed emphasis on the conservation of Spain's national patrimony and ideological construction of a national heritage also led to the foundation of museums and the recovery and preservation of artistic and archeological monuments. The Provincial Commissions of Historical and Artistic Monuments (the central branch of which Amador de los Ríos had been charged with directing upon its foundation in 1844) were thus expanded and reformed under the auspices of

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[14]For example, Antonio Ponz, *Viaje por Espana en que se da noticia de las cosas más apreciadas y dignas de saberse en ella* (Madrid, 1776-1794, 18 vols.); Ponz, *Viaje literario a las Iglesias de España* (Madrid 1851), and Fr. Jaime Villanueva, *Recuerdos y bellezas de Espana* (1839-1855). See Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia*, 49-51.

[15]See Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia* and Boyd, *Historia Patria*.

the Ministry of Public Instruction.[16] In 1867, the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid was founded by royal decree, and the provincial monuments commissions were forced to hand over their collections to the State. In fact, much of the funding for the national Museum derived from the work of the provincial Commissions of Historical and Artistic Monuments, whose establishment had coincided with the disentailment of Church lands and property. The provincial commissions collaborated with the museums' commissions in their collection and classification of artifacts from the religious orders, a task which proved challenging and which at times even provoked violent resistance.[17] Such efforts to construct a national heritage that was as much Spanish as it was Catholic and monarchist also extended to the commissioning of paintings portraying what were considered glorious moments in Spanish history, and which were displayed in the new state's administrative buildings. Some of the themes depicted in these paintings included the conversion of the Visigothic King Recaredo to Catholicism, the Surrender of Granada, and numerous representations of the Catholic Kings and Columbus.[18] Cánovas del Castillo eventually inaugurated the National Museum of Archaeology in Madrid in 1871 with King Amadeo de Saboya presiding over the inauguration ceremony. In 1878, he inaugurated the Museum of Artistic Reproductions in the *Casón del Buen Retiro*, located in the center of Madrid's Retiro park.

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[16]One of the more important accomplishments of Riaño, first General Director of Public Instruction of the first Liberal government of the Restoration proved reforming this institution during his term in 1883. See BRAH tome XIV, 162-176, also discussed in Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia,* 72.

[17]An example of such violent reaction it that of the fate met by the governor of Burgos who visited the cathedral of the city in 1869, accompanied by a staff member of the museum. He encountered a mob shouting "Long live religion", which attacked and killed him by putting a rope around his neck and dragging him down the Cathedral steps. Cited in Manzano Moreno and Pérez-Garzón, "A Difficult Nation," 264-265.

[18]See Carlos Reyero, *La Pintura de Historia del siglo XIX en España* (Madrid, 1992) and Manzano Moreno and Sisinio Pérez Garzón, "Difficult Nation," 266-272. Also, see José Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, 558-560, who argues these effort were limited and did not impress in either the number or splendor of the monuments built.

While these efforts remained the domain of intellectual elites who were directly connected to the State and in the main were confined to the domains of the *Academias, Ateneos,* and political circles, there is some evidence of their extension to a broader public and penetration into the public sphere. During the late nineteenth century, periodicals and newspapers proliferated, providing venues for the writings of the most prominent intellectuals of the era. These included high culture journals, such as *La Revista de España* and *La Revista Contemporanea*, various family journals, official state publications, and sundry newspapers with different political affiliations.[19] Moreover, history took an increasingly public form through the artistic works and historical remains displayed in the newly founded national museums and the colonization of public spaces such as squares and parks throughout Spain, though mainly in the capitol, Madrid, by monuments and statues meant to glorify Spanish history.[20] The Spanish public was also exposed to public displays of cultural nationalism in the form of grandiose national pageants and commemorations of what were considered major national historical events, such as the 1881 bicentenary of Golden Age playwright Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) and the fourth centenary of the "discovery" of America in 1892.[21]

During the period of the Restoration (1875-1919), however, the *Real Academia de la Historia*, more than any other scholarly institution, was a staging ground for the consolidation of collaboration between the state and scholars in the dissemination of its political agenda. The collaboration between the state and the scholars employed by the academies it sponsored was thus consolidated under the rule of Cánovas, and placed these scholars at the fore of the

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[19] Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia*, 31-33.

[20]Carlos Reyero, *La escultura conmemorativa en España: La Edad de Oro del monumento público, 1820-*1914 (Madrid, 1999) and Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa*, 558-560.

[21]Manzano Moreno and Pérez Garzón, "Difficult Nation," 267-269.

consolidation of national culture and politics in Spain of the Restoration. Under the patronage of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, who also served as Director of the RAH (1882-1897), the Academia became the primary vehicle through which the regime constructed and transmitted the nation's official history, a historiography entrenched in the governing political culture and social order of the period. The historiography produced by the RAH would continue to have a predominant role in the production of historiography until the beginning of the twentieth-century, unlike the cases of France and Prussia where the universities served as the principal venues for academic historical research.[22]

The Royal Council of Public Instruction, representing the Restoration government's Educational Administration, was to a large degree occupied by Numerary Academics (*académicos numerarios*) of the *Real Academia de la Historia* who exerted notable influence in controlling professorships and chairs, and judging the merits of scholarship. The state thus held a monopoly over the granting of degrees and became heavily invested in higher education.[23] Beyond the RAH, so intrinsically connected to the state, the institutions conceived within the political and social context of Moderate Liberalism such as the *Ateneo de Madrid* advocated the spread of the moral, cultural and political values of the Liberal State.[24]

The reorganization of the Real Academia de la Historia, and the creation of an academic culture in the service of a united state, had already begun in earnest with the rise to power of the

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[22]Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia*, 16-17.

[23]At the University (subordinate to the *Academias* and the state) the granting of professorships and chairs connected directly to political allegiances. Moreover, the academic freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution of 1869 had all but eroded. These freedoms included the right to establish a school (*libertad de enseñanza*) and academic freedom in the classroom (*libertad de cátedra*). In 1881, under *Progresista* Liberal rule, the previous academic freedoms were reissued in practice, though they did not sanction professors accused of political or religious heterodoxy.

[24]See Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia*, 66.

Moderado order in 1845 (as noted in the previous chapter).[25] During the Democratic Sexennium (1868-1874) the RAH largely maintained its stalwart conservative character. However, most significantly, under the new governing order all of the objects and artistic collections of the disentailed cathedrals, cabildos, monasteries and military orders were placed in the custody of the RAH. Another innovation to the institution was article 62 of the Constitution of 1869, which mandated that as a condition to be elected senator one had to have been president or director of one of the Royal Academies. The RAH was favored in this context, and under the Constitution of 1876 it assumed even more political weight; it became one of the corporate bodies of the state that could elect senators and was represented in the Senate by a member elected from its senior ranks.[26]

The membership of the RAH also reflected the changes mandated by Restoration politics, as it came to represent the official Conservative Liberal bourgeois cultural space and tradition. While during the eighteenth century membership of the RAH consisted of a majority of clerics, now the majority of its members were Liberal lawyers, politicians and journalists whose approach was often more political and patriotic than professional. Moreover, while greater numbers of professional historians had also joined the ranks of the RAH, these historians enjoyed the patronage of the State, and the histories they produced reflected this allegiance. It was only after 1900 that professional historians comprised the majority of the membership of the RAH.[27]

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[25]The Royal Decrees establishing the reorganization of the *Real Academia de Historia*, along with the other *Reales Academias*, were published in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, num. 4550 Sunday 28 February, 1847 cited in Ignacio Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia*, footnotes 64, 37 and 38.

[26]Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia*, 21, 54-56.

[27]Boyd, Historia Patria, 70.

State recruitment of historians, along with the increased professionalization and modernization of the RAH, resulted in an enhanced means of transmitting and disseminating official *historia patria.* In 1876 the RAH created its official publication: *el Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (henceforth BRAH).[28] Subsidized by the state and more accessible than its previous publications, the *Memorias* and the *Memorial Histórico Español*, it featured the professional activities of both its individual scholars and the institution as a corporate body. Soon after its founding, provincial journals modeled on the BRAH and directed by Numerary fellows or corresponding members of the RAH also appeared. The other major means of dissemination of the work of the RAH proved to be the *discursos de ingreso o recepción* (inaugural lectures) and other public lectures by members of the *Academia,* sponsored in collaboration with the government, at other institutions founded under its patronage such as *Ateneos* and even in Parliament. These speeches served as oratorical exercises in the expression of academic power and the articulation of political positions, as oratorical skills proved a major means for social and political mobility and helped establish the Academia's conceptualization of official history.[29]

[28]The *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* (BRAH) was founded on 25 February 1876 and the first issue appeared in November, 1877. During its first years the BRAH was directed by Cayetano Rosell, Chair and Numerary Academic of Bibliography of the *Escuela Superior de Diplomática.* The Basic structure of the *Boletín* included several permanent sections as follows: *Noticias*, which included agreements and discussions of the Academia; *Informes*, which encompassed a variable number of expository pieces about a historical work or question written by one *académico* or a corporate commission; and *Variedades*, which included the reproduction of documents and articles about archeological discoveries and other historical remains or descriptions of particular historical monuments. Other sections which did not appear on a monthly basis included *Aquisiciones de la Academia*, a list of books, journals (both national and international) received by the library of the RAH; *Catalogue* redacted by the Secretary of the RAH and dedicated to news of the Academy, commemorations and conferences; *Necrologías y Movimiento de personal de académicos o correspondientes; Documentos Oficiales*, Pages in which ministerial orders were reproduced or dispositions relating to the academic world and *Comunicaciones*, space reserved for reports presented by the different Commissions of Monuments in the provinces.

[29]Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia*, 106-147.

As Ignacio Peiró Martín demonstrates in his study of the academic historiography of the Restoration, the majority of the national histories written during the period in the main represented a continuity rather than a rupture with the past.[30] That is, while the historiography sanctioned by the Restoration system may have adapted some of the modernizing influences emanating from the rest of the continent, in general, it built on interpretations of the Spanish past which borrowed from the conservative nationalist historiography of the *Moderados*. In this context, the RAH framed its project of constructing Spanish history as a "restoration" of an allegedly centuries old Spanish tradition of historical erudition and methodology. This framing presented a centralist historiography based on the assumption of the existence of a shared history of a modern nation called Spain which existed from time immemorial. Moreover, this vision privileged the monarchy and the Cortes while upholding Catholic unity as the binding telos and *raison d'être* for the nation's continued existence.

Cánovas del Castillo may have proved the individual who had the greatest deal of influence in shaping the construction of Spain's official *historia patria* during the later part of the nineteenth-century. Central to Cánovas' efforts was his understanding of "the nation": Cánovas argued that the nation had its base in the past and that universal suffrage proved incapable of expressing national sovereignty. This vision stood in direct contrast to Ernest Renan's idea that even though a nation has a past it is based in the present and that its existence is an "everyday plebiscite."[31] Cánovas, who had become the Director of the Real Academia de la Historia in 1882, imprinted his historical vision of the Spanish nation through his direction and

[30]Ibid., 16.

[31] Renan presented this vision at his famous lecture at the Sorbonne in May 11, 1882, under the title: "What is a Nation?" Cánovas presented his 'response' to Renan in a speech delivered at the *Ateneo Científico y Literario de Madrid*: "El concepto de la nación" *Discurso pronunciado en el ateneo Científico y Literario de Madrid el 6 de noviembre de 1882,* (Madrid, 1882).

publication of the *Historia General de España*.[32] This general history of Spain, written by a group of the most eminent scholars at the RAH, now replaced Modesto Lafuente's *Historia general de España* (1850-1867), which had become a status and cultural symbol displayed on the shelves of scholarly institutions and in the salons of middle and upper middle class homes, as Spain's 'official' state-sanctioned national history.[33] The project introduced by Cánovas proved overly ambitious, and out of 28 planned works in 15 volumes, only 8 were completed. With its multiple authors focused on different topics and periods, it was united by conforming to the official Conservative historiographic model.[34]

As a result of Cánovas del Castillo's influence, many of the histories produced under the auspices of the Restoration, like the earlier *Moderado* histories, privileged the monarchy and the Cortes as the driving forces behind the unraveling of historical events and as securing the Nation's unity on all fronts while they remained centered on Castile. Moreover, these historical narratives tended to maintain a teleological vision of a united Catholic Spain and champion traditional institutions, while avoiding serious critique of the former. Consequently, as Manzano Moreno and Pérez Garzón argue, this vision of the nation did not create an idea of the nation which was separate from the Church and the Crown, making it vulnerable to attacks from Catholic traditionalists whenever this equation appeared to be called into question. On the other hand, this concept of the nation was made vulnerable by political forces on the left who rejected this equation and to all Liberals who hoped to ward off the foreign allegations of the "Black

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[32]Antonio Canovas del Castillo, *Historia General de España* (Madrid: El Progreso Editorial, 1890-1894).

[33]Modesto Lafuente, *Historia General de España desde los tiempos más primitivos hasta nuestros días* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico Mellado, 1850-67).

[34] Despite the *Historia General's* political ideology, as Peiró Martin notes, the work was scientific enough as to not be challenged in a significant way by its ideological rivals, *Los Guardianes de la Historia*, 166.

Legend" of Spain's religious intolerance and despotism. Furthermore, the equation drawn between Castile and Spain further weakened this concept of Spain in the wake of emergent regionalist nationalisms.[35] All of these factors, including the new-found quest for 'scientific objectivity,' coupled with the State's commitment to the preservation of *Moderado* traditionalism thus encompassed seemingly opposed inclinations. These inclinations ultimately exemplified the latent tensions in the evolution of historical writing in Spain, tensions that connected to the politics of 'compromise' and absence of political uniformity which characterized both the Restoration system and its critics.

Such tensions surfaced in the topics most historians of the period felt obliged to address, arguably the most polemical ones, many of which were at the heart of the Black Legend such as the Inquisition, the Expulsion of the Muslims and Jews and colonization of the Americas. In the eyes of Conservative Liberals, the Inquisition had preserved Catholic unity by defending the faith at home and abroad, sparing Spain from the sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century revolutions witnessed by the rest of Europe, and thus preventing the devastation of the religious wars. According to most Liberal interpretations (*Progresista* and Conservative alike), the Catholic Kings acted under popular pressure; while acknowledging the problems presented by the Expulsion and Inquisition, they lauded the King's ability to achieve ethnic and religious unity, while accusing other nations of treating the Jews and religious dissidents even worse.[36] Moreover, while *Progresista* Liberals may have rejected the *Moderado* definition of the Restoration monarchies as an expression of the "national will", like their counterparts they

[35]See Manzano Moreno and Sisnio Pérez Garzón, "A Difficult Nation," 266-273. On the emergence of regionalist nationalisms see Nuñez Seixas, *Los Nacionalismos*. Nonetheless, until the turn of the century, there was a fair amount of communication between Catalan and Madrileño scholars and many Catalans served as *Correspondientes* in the RAH and had studied in the *Escuela Superior de Diplomática*. Peiró Martín, *Los Guardianes de la Historia*, 89.

[36] See Carolyn Boyd, Historia Patria, 65-98.

embraced the myth of national unity and sought to defend Spain from foreign contempt. Such disparities between these state-sanctioned interpretations of the national past reflected a shared desire to redeem the *patria* from perceived decay and foreign derision. Despite their common goal, it was precisely the dissonance of such interpretations which would ultimately challenge and shape efforts to construct a State sanctioned historical narrative, as the battle for cultural hegemony between Liberalism and Catholic traditionalism remained its driving undercurrent.

Such tensions would be played out at the Real Academia de la Historia in spite of its ability to preserve and uphold its traditionalist character. Despite continuing debate between proponents of Catholic doctrine and Darwinist evolutionary theory, the history produced at the RAH began move away from the mythical foundations of the nation conceived by the medieval chroniclers and transmitted through the Enlightenment and Romantic eras. Instead, the earlier proto-history was now slowly being replaced with historical archeology complemented by paleontology, geology and prehistory. Moreover, during this period the RAH began to acquire significant holdings of manuscripts and inscriptions. The fervent reclamation and preservation of these sources and artistic and archeological monuments, under the pretext of the search for historical 'truth', represented attempts to 'scientifically' prove the linguistic and ethnic 'origins' or 'foundations' of the *patria*.[37] The 'new' history was quickly put to use in the battle over Spain's identity, reflected in heated debates about the first peoples who populated the Iberian Peninsula, while the *discursos* of the scholars of the RAH presented the principal platform for such debate, subsequently recorded in the pages of the BRAH.[38]

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[37] Peiró Martín, *Los guardians de la historia*, 83.

[38] See Peiró Martín, *Los guardians de la historia*, and Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations*.

An examination of these debates over the origins of Spain reveals further ambivalence and contradictions in the Restoration State's attempts to construct an official national history. In the period leading up to the African War (1859-1860), as Susan Martín Márquez has argued, one may find early articulations of theories of racial hybridity regarding the origins of Spain, as justifications for Spanish colonialism and a *mission civilisatrice* in Africa. Amador de los Ríos, like other Spanish Orientalists, implied as much in his ode in support of the *Guerra de África*. Such justifications were revived in Restoration Spain upon the loss of Spanish possessions in the Americas and elsewhere and the subsequent reorientation of its colonial aspirations towards North Africa. Hence, while Cánovas del Castillo campaigned for a vision of uninterrupted national unity under the banner of Christianity and presented unflattering when not outright racist views of the "*moros*" [Moors], it was also his government that promoted and sanctioned the recovery of non-Christian origins of the nation at the RAH and elsewhere in Spain.[39]

II. The *Real Academia de La Historia* as Promoter of Jewish History and Hebraism

The State's investment in recovering the origins of the nation and its reorientation of its imperial interests towards Morocco proved quite propitious to the study of the Jewish past in Spain. Above all, the state supported and privileged the training of Orientalists in Semitic languages and projects to collect and transcribe Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts and inscriptions, as well as excavations of Jewish and Muslim archeological sites. While much of the academic training of scholars involved in these efforts took place in the Spanish universities, the majority of the work produced and disseminated on the topic was published by the Real Academia de la Historia. In fact, during the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, Spain's Jewish past was one

[39]Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations,* 52, 30-31.

of the most frequently addressed topics in the Real Academia de la Historia's official publication, the *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Moreover, increased contact and collaboration between Jewish scholars and Jewish academic institutions and Spanish scholars at the RAH transpired during this period.

The thoroughgoing incorporation of Spain's Jewish past into the work of the Real Academia de la Historia was largely a product of the labors of the Jesuit linguist and historian Fidel Fita y Colomé (1835-1917).[40] Fita, who became an *Académico de número* (Numerary Academic or Permanent Fellow) of the RAH in 1877 and directed the *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia* between 1883-1918, published hundreds of documents, Hebrew funerary inscriptions, and other sources relating to the history of the Jews of Spain in the BRAH, all of which he later compiled in his work, *La España hebrea*. Moreover, Fita was responsible for forming personal and formal institutional connections with Jewish scholars and research institutes abroad engaged in investigations of Spanish and Sephardic history.

However, Fidel Fita's interest in Hebrew and his interest in Spain's Jewish past began well before he was officially elected to become an *Académico de número* of the RAH and Director of its *Boletín*. Born in the Catalan pueblo Arenys del Mar in 1835 into a Catalan family of the merchant class, Fita joined the Jesuit order at age fourteen. His entry into the *Compañía de Jesús* would take Fita to other parts of Europe where he spent extensive periods of time, particularly in France, which had a marked influence on his subsequent intellectual formation. In 1850, when he was only fifteen, Fita left Barcelona, where his family had resettled in 1845, and traveled to France to study in the *Casa de los Padres* in Aire-sur-Ardour. From France, Fita moved to Nivelle, Belgium, where he studied rhetoric and completed the *noviciado* (his

[40]On Fita's work at the RAH see Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*.

formation and training with the Jesuit Order). During his studies abroad he came to master Latin, as well as Hebrew and Greek, and acquired writing proficiency in German and English.[41] Upon returning to Spain in 1853, his superiors assigned him to Loyola to teach humanities and Greek to resident *novicios*.[42] Fita was to return to France a year later, though this time into exile at the *Casa Jesuita* in Laval (a *Colegio de etudios mayores de filosofía*) as a result of O'Donnell's 1854 *pronunciamiento* and Espartero's return. The *Bienio Progresista* (1854-1856) under which the Jesuit Order was banned from Spain kept Fita in France until 1857 when O'Donnell returned to power and allowed for the return of the exiles.[43]

Upon his return to Spain, Fita was assigned to the *Colegio de Carrión de los Condes* in Palencia, where he taught Latin and French to foreign students. After spending a total of two years in Palencia, and another year back at Loyola he arrived in León, where he would begin his journey as a public intellectual. While Fita would continue to study theology during his time in León (1860-1866), by 1860 he had already become known as one of the best linguists of the Jesuit Order in Spain. It was also during this period when Fita began his initial historical research and made first contact with the Real Academia de la Historia.

Fita, who completed his religious training and became a priest in 1863, taught Hebrew and Holy Scriptures to other Jesuits and in 1865 assumed the position of *Catedrático* of Exegesis and Oriental Languages in the Jesuit *Casa Colegio de San Marcos* in León. The same year Fita

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[41] Juan Pérez de Guzmán y Gallo, "Notas biográficas: el Exmo. Sr. y R.P.D. Fidel Fita, Director de la Real Academia de la Historia," BRAH (Feb. 1918): 100. The author notes that all of the biographical information in this essay was based on information Fidel Fita verbally shared with him several days before his death "Todas las noticias íntimas de la vida del P. Fita que aquí se contienen, fueron dadas verbalmente al autor por él mismo pocos días antes de su enfermedad y su muerte." Also see Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 15.

[42] According to Abascal Palazón, Fita taught Humanities and Greek to resident *novicios* in Loyola, while according to Pérez de Guzmán, Fita assumed the professorship of Hebrew and Rhetoric at the Jesuit *Casa Colegio de San Marcos* in Leon. See Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 16 and de Guzmán y Gallo, 100.

[43] Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 16.

entered the priesthood, his heightened interest in archeology, epigraphy and historical monuments was recognized in his appointment as Vice-President of the Provincial Commission of Monuments. Through his new lay functions Fita began to publish articles on his findings in the local Leonese daily, *El Eco de León.* Many of these developments were fostered by the close friendship Fita formed with Eduardo Saavedra around this time. Saavedra, a road, canal and port engineer by profession, was also an *académico de número* of the Real Academia de la Historia since 1862 and fluent in Latin and Arabic, with some background in Greek and Hebrew as well.[44] The two men, according to their contemporaries, became "inseparable", and their shared passion for antiquities and epigraphy found expression through their extensive travels together throughout León in search for historical artifacts and inscriptions, and an enduring scholarly collaboration. In fact, Fita's first book, *Epigrafía romana de la ciudad de León,* (*con un prólogo de Eduardo Saavedra)* (1866), was a product of these travels.[45]

It was also in this context that Fita first came into contact with Jewish historical artifacts. His religious linguistic training allowed him to begin his work with Hebrew inscriptions in earnest. In September, 1866, Fita, whose work on a fragment of a codex from Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* was already presented at the Real Academia de la Historia by Saavedra in 1865, presented a plaster cast or mold of a Hebrew inscription from *Puente Castro* to members of the RAH.[46] However, Fita's work with Hebraic inscriptions would be interrupted for several years. The Jesuit Order transferred him to Barcelona where he apparently experienced great hardship, as he was forced to change his domicile frequently, staying at different Jesuit centers in Manresa,

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[44]Pérez de Guzmán, 101 and Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón, 16.

[45]Fidel Fita, *Epigrafía romana de la ciudad de León* (*con un prólogo de Eduardo Saavedra)*, (León, 1866). See Pérez de Guzmán, "Notas biográficas," 102 and Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 17-18.

[46]*Noticia de las Actas de la Academia* (28 Sep. 1866), in BRAH 2 (1883): 207, and cited in Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 19.

Balaguer and Tortosa. Moreover, soon after, he was forced to flee across the Pyrenees yet again and was even detained briefly in Figueres when he was identified as a Jesuit upon the outbreak of the Liberal revolt of 1868, only to return to Spain in 1870.[47] During this second period in France, Fita taught theology at the *Casa de Estudios* of Valsprés-le-Puy, and also continued his historical investigations at the local archives of the Haute-Loire upon which he based a thesis which was later published.[48]

Upon his return to Spain in 1870, Fita resettled in Catalonia where he resumed his ecclesiastical duties and lay scholarly endeavors. He assumed the professorship of *Teología dogmática* at the *Seminario Conciliar de Gerona* while he also began to work closely with the Provincial Commission of Historical and Artistic Monuments. As in the past, the needs of the Order interjected themselves as Fita's superiors soon called upon him to fill the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History in the newly founded Jesuit Center in the Monastery of San Martirián in the town of Banyoles, where he also became involved in setting up a hospital for those wounded in the fighting against the Carlists. Nonetheless, Fita continued making frequent trips to Gerona to research Roman, Visigothic and Hebrew inscriptions in the city's civil and ecclesiastical archives. In the same year, Fita also began his correspondence with other Spanish Hebraists, testament to his growing interest in Hebraic inscriptions as part of his increased dedication to the regional history of Catalonia. He exchanged letters about the Hebrew funerary inscriptions of Gerona with Enrique Claudio Girbal, who had just published a book about the Jews of the city,

[47]During the Revolt the Colegio de San Marcos in León was abandoned by the Jesuits. On the revolution of 1868 and the revolutionary settlement see Raymond Carr, *Spain 1808-1975* (Oxford, 1982), 305-319. On Fita's exile and return to Spain see Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*,19-20.

[48]The dissertation, titled *Tablettes historiques de la Haute-Lire* was published in 1870.

as well as with Juan Dios de la Rada whose appointment to the Real Academia de la Historia was based on his research on the Hebrew inscriptions about which he corresponded with Fita.[49]

Fita's prominence in Catalan public life appeared to reach its climax when he relocated to Barcelona in 1874. Fita took to the pulpit, and as in the past, his priestly duties seemed to open the doors to broader recognition of his scholarship. On 26 August 1875, Fita delivered a funerary oration for the victims of the tragic explosion of the steam ship *Exprés* in the city's port at the Iglesia de San Miguel. According to his contemporary RAH fellow Guzmán y Gallo, the oration won "the attention, admiration, respect and favor of public opinion on his behalf."[50] Soon after, news of his researches and publications began to frequently appear in the daily, weekly and monthly Catalan press and journals. It was also during this period that Fita published his research on the Hebrew funerary inscriptions of Gerona, *Las lápidas hebreas de Gerona* (1874), which received a fair amount of interest both locally, as well as in Madrid, where news of his researches also began to attract more attention.[51]

Fita's national recognition as a scholar and Hebraist soon materialized in 1877, when he was invited to present his candidacy for election as an *Académico de número* at the Real Academia de la Historia.[52] Fita arrived in Madrid the following June to deliver his acceptance

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[49] Enrique Girbal, *Los judíos en Gerona: colección de noticias históricas referentes a los de esta localidad, hasta la época de su expulsion de los dominios españoles* (Gerona, 1870). Jewish Hebraist and cataloguer Adolph Neubauer (1831- 1907), who became an honorary member of the RAH in 1890, had also published a series of articles on the topic in the *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* around this time and Fita wanted to correct the interpretation of the inscriptions provided by the catedrático Sr. Viscasilla. As for de la Rada, as it turned out, the inscriptions he presented were allegedly false. See Pérez de Guzmán, "Notas biográficas," 103 and Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 21.

[50] Guzmán y Gallo, 105

[51] Fidel Fita, *Las lápidas hebreas de Gerona* (Barcelona, 1874).

[52] Fita received the invitation for candidacy to the RAH on January 2nd of 1877, substituting Fermín Caballero who had just passed away and was elected *académico de número* on March 16th of that year. Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 23 and Pérez de Guzmán, 106.

speech. While the topic Fita chose for his inaugural speech was the fifteenth-century cardinal bishop of Gerona, D. Juan Margarit, known as the *Gerundense*, the main focus of his talk became what he deemed the urgent need to reform the study of national history in Spain by focusing on particular inscriptions, archeological findings and documents, rather than writing narrative histories. The positivistic philosophy of history for which Fita advocated through his speech—likely one influenced by his exposure to French positivism and contact with French scholars during his time living in France—would soon come to bear on his work at the RAH. Fita's official induction into the Academia only took place two years later, however, in July of 1879, as debate had ensued over his need to relocate to Madrid as a condition for his acceptance. The hearing, presided over by Manuel Colmeiro (who had reviewed Amador del los Rios' *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal* so enthusiastically), Pedro Madrazo, Vicente Lafuente, Moreno Nieto, Orientalist and son-in-law of Amador de los Ríos Francisco Fernandéz y González and Pedro Sabau, Secretary of the RAH, concluded that Fita would indeed need to relocate to Madrid to comply with Academia regulations.[53] Fita would spend the following thirty years or so living in Madrid in different Jesuit residences; his most intensive and dedicated work with Hebrew inscriptions from Spain's most prominent Jewish monuments dated to this period.[54]

Once Fita became a numerary member of the Academia, his historical publications granted him national and international prestige, as he was considered an expert on the study of the Church in Spain, Latin inscriptions, and the Jews of Spain and he formed important

[53]The initial vote took place on 2 March 1877 and was signed by A. Fernandez-Guerra, V. Barrantes, J. de Dios de la Rada and Eduardo Saavedra. Fita did not receive the votes of Pedro Sabau and Fernández y González, apparently not because they opposed his candidacy, but rather because of the bureaucratic requirement that an *Académico* reside in Madrid full time.

[54]One of these residences was on Calle Isabel la Católica and the other on Calle Echegaray. Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 23- 24.

connections with international scholars and institutions.[55] During his early years at the RAH he mainly published research on Roman Latin inscriptions and religious themes. Fita's interest in Latin epigraphy brought him into contact with renowned epigraphist Emilio Hübner of the German Institute of Archeology in Berlin. Hübner, who became a mentor to Fita and clearly held him in the highest esteem, invited Fita in 1879 to become a corresponding fellow of the German institute as "*de re epigraphica hispana optime meritus merensque*."[56] In the same year, Fita, along with historian Vicente de Lafuente among others, was commissioned by the RAH to edit "La España Sagrada", the encyclopedic eighteenth-century Spanish ecclesiastical history and one of the more important publications of the Academia.[57] Fidel Fita also maintained his ties with Catalonia as he continued to make frequent trips to Barcelona and in 1883, along with Saavedra, was made a member of the Catalan Commission of *Fueros y Cortes* charged with examining the texts of the medieval Cortes of Aragon and Catalonia.[58] Moreover, in the spring of 1883, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, who served as Director of the RAH at the time, made Fidel Fita Director of the *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Cánovas had aimed to consolidate the BRAH by creating a small group of collaborators from the Academia who

[55] Fidel Fita maintained a vast correspondence with scholars and home and abroad, as well as with individuals who directed sundry questions to him of all types. The archives of the RAH alone contain 400 letters directed to him and there are many more at the Archivo Histórico Provincial S.J. at Alcalá de Henares. See BRAH 44 (1919): 508 and Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 13 and 24.

[56] Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 33 and de Guzmán, "Notas biográficas," 111. Fita also received such invitations from scholarly academies in London and Paris and was a *correspondiente* of the Archeological Institute of Rome.

[57] This encyclopedic history of the Spanish Church, initiated in large part by the Augustinian Padre Enriquez Flórez, as *España Sagrada. Teatro Geográfico-Histórico de la Iglesia de España* in 1747, and considered a classic of eighteenth-century Spanish historigoraphy, was continued in subsequent years by various scholars who wrote additional volumes ending in vol. LVI.

[58] Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 25.

worked on its publication and were headed by Fita.[59] Between 1883-1893, the majority of the sections of the *Boletín* appeared as either signed by Fita (on occasion with one of his co-editors) or as anonymous, serving as an indication of his control over the publication. Moreover, from this point until his death in 1918, Fita published more than 700 articles, commentaries and notes in the *Boletín* which made him virtually omnipresent in its pages.[60]

An examination of the BRAH during this period reveals that Spain's Jewish past was a predominant focus in the journal. Moreover, Fita's most intensive and dedicated work with Hebrew inscriptions from Spain's most prominent Jewish monuments date to this time. Fita's ability to engage in such dedicated work on Spain's Jewish past was in no small part a reflection of wider national interests in the recovery of Hebraic and Arabic sources and historical monuments, as a collaborative endeavor between the state and the RAH. Indeed, in collaboration with the RAH, the national government began to sponsor expeditions to places like Córdoba and Toledo, where Fita and other Orientalists were commissioned to consult various Hebraic and Arabic inscriptions. Fita's appointment to the *Comisión de Estudios Orientales* (formed in 1899), along with Orientalists Eduardo Saavedra, Francisco Fernández y González and Francisco Codera, served as further indication of the State's investment in the recovery of the nation's Jewish and Muslim past.

While developments in state patronage of scholarship may have fostered such work, Fita's role in encouraging the influence of developments in European scholarship in Spain, also

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[59]Some of the other principal collaborators were *académicos*, J. de Dios de la Rada and Antonio Delgado. Miguel Asín Palacios, Francisco Codera and Francisco Fernández y González served as collaborators in the area of Hebraic and Arabic studies.

[60] In the same year Fita formed a special commission to review epigraphical and archeological documents which would later become the "Comission of Antiquities" and which was charged with publishing and organizing all of the information accumulated by the Real Academia de la Historia. Most of the inscriptions published by Fita in the BRAH are from this source. Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 26 and 34.

explain his ability to engage so profusely with these sources. During Fita's tenure at the RAH he formed important enduring institutional and personal connections with European Jewish historical societies and scholars, albeit in the context of their researches in the area of Spanish history.[61] Under his influence, for the first time in the history of the RAH, many Jewish scholars became honorary members of the institution, while Fita himself fielded various invitations to join Jewish scholarly societies. In March of 1890, for example, French-Jewish scholar and Jewish community leader Isidore Loeb (1839-1892) and Adolph Neubauer (1831-1907), sublibrarian of the Bodleian library and reader at Oxoford University, were voted Honorary members of the RAH.[62] Moreover, in 1915, the same year Fidel Fita was named an honorary Associate of the Parisian Franco-Jewish *Société*, Heinreich Graetz, the prominent German Jewish scholar whose work Amador de los Ríos had so bitterly attacked in his *Historia*, was elected as an honorary member of the RAH; his "great" *History of the Jews* was deemed "a worldwide classic" by the members of the Academia who bestowed this honor on him.[63]

Fita also corresponded frequently and collaborated with Jewish scholars abroad.[64] The Jewish scholar who perhaps had the most impact on shaping Fita's efforts in propagating studies of the Jewish past at the RAH was Isidore Loeb. Fita conducted some of his most prodigious correspondence with Loeb; the two exchanged more than one hundred letters between 1879 and

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[61]Peiró Martín makes the case that much of the engagement with scholarship abroad was Hispanic-centric which is indeed the case and which he refers to as "bibliographic nationalism", *Los guardianes de la historia*, 149.

[62]See "Noticias", BRAH 14: 4 (Apr. 1890): 372. Loeb was appointed secretary of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1869 and in 1877 was appointed chair of Jewish history at the Rabbinical Seminary of Paris. His main passion, however, was his work in Société des Etudes Juives (founded in Paris in 1880), particularly in the capacity of editor of the society's main organ, the *Revue des Études Juives*.

[63]"…autor de la grande *Historia de los judíos*, clásica en todo el mundo y traducida del alemán á diferentes idiomas", 7.

[64]For example, Fita collaborated on an article on the Inquisition with Loeb and Graetz, "La Inquisición de Torquemada-secretos íntimos." BRAH 23 (Madrid, 1893): 369-434.

1892.[65] As a result of such connections and collaboration the pages of the BRAH during his tenure as its editor were laden with updates on the work of European Jewish academic societies and scholars in the area of Spanish-Jewish history. Articles or documents they published were often reprinted in the *Boletín*.[66] Moreover, news of the discovery of Hebrew funerary stones, inscriptions, and documents pertaining to the different *aljamas* or *juderías*, much of them recovered from municipal archives from the different regions of Spain, filled the volumes of the BRAH. Finally, during this period under Fita's influence, the RAH also began to make significant acquisitions of documents, monographs and other published studies from abroad pertaining to Sephardic history and culture.[67]

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[65]As noted earlier, Isidore Loeb was commissioned by the RAH along with Fita and Gonzalez to translate the Hebrew manuscripts of the Bodleian library. In one of his earlier letters to Fita, Loeb informed him about his research on the Sephardim living in Turkey and how their "attachment to their ancient patria and for the beautiful and melodious Castilian language has been such that throughout the centuries and up to today still, they express their thoughts, their joys and their sadness in this harmonious idiom…", suggesting to Fita that his work "will have the goal of making a serious contribution to the wise research of your Society." *Expediente Académico* de Fidel Fita, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

[66]For some other examples: *noticia* item on an article by Isidore Loeb (published in la *Revue des Études juives* Abril-June, 1887) on "Le nombre des juifs de Castille et d'Espagne au moyen age; Notes sur l'histoire des juifs en Espagne," BRAH 9 (Oct. 1887): 287-288**;** *noticia* item on another *Revue* article by Loeb on two *autos notariales* addressing the "embarque y expatriación de los diez mil judíos, catalanes, aragoneses y valencianos en la playa de Barcelona (2 Agosto, 1492)," BRAH 18:1 (Jan. 1891): 182-184; Isidore Loeb, "Polémistes chrétiens et juifs en Espagne" BRAH 23:5 (Nov. 1893): 370-377 (republished from the *Revue des Études juives* 18 (1889): 231-242); Heinrich Graetz, "La police de l'Inquisition d'Espagne á ses débuts" BRAH 23: 5 (Nov. 1893): 383-390 (reprinted from the *Revue des Études juives* 20 (1890): 237-243); Moisés Swab**,** "De la Palégraphie Sémitique", BRAH 48: 6 (Jun. 1906): 464-485; Julien Weill, "Note sur une ancienne taduction française manuscrite de l'itinéraire Benjamín de Tudele—inexactement datée" and "Les Éditions nouvelles de l'itinéraire de Benjamín de Tudéle" BRAH 50:1 (Jan. 1907):150-163 (reprinted from the *Revue des Études juives* Jul.-Sep.1906), and in the same issue a *noticia* item on Moisés Schwab's work on unedited inscriptions from Spain in the *Revue des Études juives* (October-September), 164; *noticias* item about publication of several items on the relationship of Kings of the Spanish kingdoms with the Jews (Jaime I, Pedro III, Alfonso II) with the Jews in the *Revue des Études juives* between 1912-1914 BRAH 45:1,2 (Jul.-Aug. 1914).

[67]So much is evident from the "Adquisiciones de la Academia" section of the BRAH from the moment Fita became its editor to the last days he functioned as a member of the RAH. The origin of the majority of these acquisitions were the private collections of various Jewish scholars, the *Sociéte des Études Juives* (Paris), the American Jewish Historical Society (Baltimore), and Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning (Philadelphia).

III. Between *Historia Positivista* and *Historia Oficial*

Despite Fita's efforts at the Real Academia de la Historia in the recovery of the Jewish past and the wealth of material he left behind, as meticulously documented in the BRAH, it is difficult to assess his vision of the place of this history in Spain's *historia patria* and its connection to Restoration politics. Unlike Amador de los Ríos or Adolfo de Castro, who wrote historical narratives of Spain's Jewish past, the body of Fita's work is largely comprised of transcriptions and translations of Hebraic inscriptions or other historical documents with very little accompanying analysis. Even Fita's hefty two tome *La España hebrea* published in Madrid (1889 and 1898), is a compilation of such articles from the BRAH.[68] Nonetheless, through a close reading of his scholarship and treatment of several distinct topics in Spanish history, as well as an examination of his editorial work in the BRAH, one can glean fragments of both his particular historical vision and its ambivalence.

Ignacio Peiró Martín, who has written about the BRAH in the first twenty five years of its existence, remarked upon how many clerics in the provinces in this period became affiliated with the RAH and contributed to the BRAH. In this context he states that at the time, the Boletín "was a zealous guardian of Catholic orthodoxy, publishing in its pages not only the opinions but all of the directives, which with regard to history, were promulgated by the religious hierarchies."[69] Others, like Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón, (who was commissioned to write about Fidel Fita by the Real Academia de la Historia) aggrandize the Academia and Fita's role in

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[68] Fidel Fita, *La España Hebrea: Datos históricos* (Madrid, Vol. 1 1889, Vol. 2 1898).

[69] "el Boletín fue un celoso guardián de la ortodoxia católica, publicando en sus páginas no solo las opiniones sino todas las directrices que, referentes a la historia, promulgaron las jerarquías religiosas", Peiró Martín, *Los guardianes de la historia*, 127.

it.[70] Nitai Shinan, who has studied Fita's writing on the Jewish past, has focused on what he perceives as the shortcomings of Fita's positivistic approach when writing on this topic. Shinan specifically critiques Fita's ability to question the validity of his sources and suggests that this led Fita to make mistakes and accept the status quo regarding certain interpretations of the Jewish past, while also suggesting Fita wished to avoid polemics.[71]

I argue that Fita's approach to recovering the Jewish past must be viewed as more complex and ambivalent, and as such provides a critical point of reference when examining and critiquing the nature of the supposed hegemony of Restoration historiography. Fita's obsessive dedication to the history of the Jews of Spain certainly rivaled if not surpassed his dedication to upholding Spain's Catholic orthodoxy, along the lines attributed to his editorial role and shaping of the BRAH by Peiró Martin. Moreover, what I refer to as Fita's Hebraic positivism represented one direction in which Spain's *historia oficial* was moving under the patronage of Restoration politics, given the state's investment in scientifically recovering the origins of the nation (including its Semitic ones). However, such investment and acts of recovery stood in tension (as discussed earlier in the chapter) with the State's construction of an eternal Catholic *patria*.[72] One might therefore ask how exactly Fita's Positivistic dedication to the recovery of the Jewish past when writing Spain's *historia patria*, could be reconciled with the values of Restoration politics and his religious identity as a Jesuit. Moreover, against Shinan's argument about the limitations of Fita's positivistic approach I rather contend that Fita's positivistic approach can be understood in direct relationship with the argument that Fita wished to avoid

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[70] Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*.

[71] Nitai Shinan, Shinan, Mi-de'ot kedumot el ha-mehkar ha-mada'i.

[72] For the focus on documents and inscriptions in the historiography of the Restoration see Peiró Martín, *Los guardianes de la historia*, 49, 85.

polemics. Furthermore, it was precisely Fita's Hebraic positivism which would place him in a unique position to write oficial *historia patria*, one which would narrow the divide between *historia positivista* and *historia oficial.*

Indeed, a closer examination of Fita's work with Hebrew sources reveals his understanding of the place of Hebraism in the effort of constructing *historia patria*.[73] So much is clear in Fita's announcement of the publication of three medieval Hebrew chronicles written by Spanish Jews taken from the Bodleian Library at Oxford.[74] Fita lamented that these works were not accessible to all Spanish scholars, as they were written in Hebrew. He claimed that they contained information of great importance regarding the historical legends about the life of medieval Christian Spain's most celebrated intellectual, Saint Isidore of Seville. Moreover, he argued, these documents provided "enlightening" details about the "much disputed and obscured" initial feats of El Cid (the glorified Christian warrior of the Reconquista), as well as about the history of the Spanish monarchs and kingdoms.[75] Fita thus recommended they be translated to Spanish by the RAH as "the comprehension of the text could stimulate studies and observations which would enable advances surpassing the text itself."[76] In the same context, Fita

[73]As indicated in the previous chapter, Amador's knowledge of Hebrew remained rudimentary and he relied on the work of other historians for his citation of Hebrew sources. Moreover, while there were a number of Spanish Hebraists working in the earlier part of the nineteenth-century and Hebrew began to be offered at the university, the focus of these studies remained exclusively linguistic (e.g. the writing of grammars) and centered on Biblical Hebrew. See Riviére Gómez, *Orientalismo* y *Nacionalismo Español* and David Wacks, **"**Is Spain's Hebrew Literatura 'Spanish'?

[74]Adolph Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes,* edited from printed books and manuscripts, *Anectoda Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series V. I (Oxford, 1887). The chronicles in question were authored by Ibn Daud, José ben Zaddic de Arévalo and Abraham de Torrutiel.

[75] "Noticias" section, BRAH 1888: 10. In this case Fita bases his analysis on Adolph Neaubauer's edition. "Sobre las primeras hazañas del Cid, oscuras y controvertidas, ofrece José de Arévalo, esta indicación luminosa."

[76]"No todos los sabios que se dedican al cultivo de nuestra historia están familiarizados con la lengua rabínica; y por otra parte la comprensión del texto puede excitar estudios y observaciones que lo pujen y habiliten para ulteriores adelantos. La Academia ha recomendado á tres de sus individuos…la traducción é ilustración de tan estimable crónicas." "Noticias" BRAH, 12: 1 (Jan. 1888): 13.

published two translations and a brief commentary of these Hebrew chronicles about Isidore of Seville, sent to the Academia by Jewish correspondent Isidore Loeb. In his commentary, Fita corrected erroneous dates and details while confirming other parts of the Hebrew accounts based on several other sources, concluding that "the Hebrew chronicles, and perhaps the Muslim ones, would serve as a powerful auxiliary" to the many Christian legends registered about Saint Isidore.[77] In these instances, Fita's use and presentation of the Hebrew sources to enrich and verify Christian sources appeared to serve a similar purpose to Amador de los Rios' use of the Jews and Jewish past (albeit via Jewish sources written in Castillian) to buttress the glories of Christian Spain. Fidel Fita, however, did so under the banner of historical objectivity and sound scientific methodology.

Fita acted on these sentiments not only through the transcription of documents and inscriptions in an academic context, but also by playing an instrumental role in the state's efforts to recover and recognize Jewish historical monuments. Perhaps most notable was his work in the recovery and decipherment of the inscriptions of the synagogues of Córdoba and Toledo. Fita informed his colleagues at the RAH about the inscriptions he had consulted and several articles on the topic appeared in the BRAH.[78] In November of the same year, Fita informed the Director of Public Instruction of the errors made in the restoration of the inscriptions of the *El*

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[77] Fidel Fita, "Las crónicas hebreas, y quizá las muslímicas, prestarán á semejante investigación poderoso auxilio," BRAH 12:1 (Jan. 1888): 170-175. Fita analyzes these chronicles edited by Neubauer at greater length elsewhere in the tome (9-12) mentioning how Torrutiel's chronicle "produce sobre la vida y profecías del Santo Doctor de las Españas datos de recóndita erudición, que se compaginan con los legendarios acumulados por Fr. Rodrigo d Cerrato", 12.

[78] R. Romero y Barros, Acuerdos y discusiones de la Academia, Noticias, "La sinagoga de Córdoba, hoy hermita dedicada al culto bajo la advocación de San Crispín", BRAH 5:4 (1884): 201-203, 234-264; Fidel Fita, Informes, "La sinagoga de Córdoba", BRAH (1884), Noviembre, Tomo V. Cuaderno V (PP. 267-268; 299-307); Fidel Fita, Variedades, "La sinagoga de Córdoba, monumento nacional."

Tránsito synagogue in Toledo.[79] Fita was soon to return to Toledo, as the synagogue was to undergo restoration and he was interested in the condition of the inscriptions and the way they were being handled in the restoration job. Such expeditions, in which Fita and other Orientalists played instrumental roles, resulted in the declaration of the synagogue of Cordoba and the Ermita del Tránsito in Toledo as national monuments by the Royal Orders of January 24, 1885 and August 27, 1877.[80]

Fita continued to draw attention to the restoration and maintenance of such Jewish sites in the BRAH. While he did so mainly by publishing news reports on the topic, on occasion his editorial comments and choices of what was published reveal the extent of Fita's dedication to this issue, as well as his patent frustration with the state of such efforts. One such example is Fita's choice to publish a letter in the BRAH from the Vice President of Córdoba's commission of historical monuments regarding the sorry state of the city's synagogue, declared a national monument only five years beforehand in large part due to Fita's own efforts. The Vice President called attention to the "alarming state of ruin" of the synagogue that had been "declared a national monument and whose merit and historical-archeological importance is already well known and appreciated by this illustrious Academy." He urged the Academia with its "authority and influence" to "stimulate the patriotism of the Minister of Development" to intervene before "this building is lost along with its intricate ornamentation and elegant and heartfelt inscriptions."[81] Even if not authored by Fita himself, Fita's choice to publish what was

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[79] Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 44. The author suggests Fita must have visited the Toledo synagogue as part of the trip he made to Cordoba.

[80] "Monumentos declarados nacionales", BRAH 4:1,2 (Jan.-Feb. 1889): 160-161.

[81] "Esta Comisión, oído el informe dado por e vocal secretario SR. Romero Barros, en la sesión celebrada el día 3 de Julio del mes corriente, ha acordado dirigirse á V.E. llamando su atención hacia el estado alarmante de ruina en que se encuentra la Sinagoga de esta ciudad, declarada monumento nacional, y cuyo mérito é importancia histórico-arqueológica es ya bien conocida y apreciada por esa ilustre Academia. Desde que esta antigua Sinagoga

essentially a critique of the State's upkeep of its Jewish national monuments and an urgent appeal for its immediate attention may have allowed Fita to express his views on the topic indirectly.

Moreover, on other occasions Fita expressed more explicitly and directly similar sentiments and frustrations with the state's investment in the recovery of the Jewish past. Such was the case in Fita's report in the BRAH (1891) on the synagogue of Zaragoza, which he considered a "monumental structure" and an "exquisite jewel of hispano-Jewish architecture." Fita lamented that "No one has bothered to conduct a topographical study of the Judería of Zaragoza, nor have its inscriptions been collected or even looked for", despite the fact such work would provide "great benefits for History."[82] In another instance Fita wrote that "almost all of the Hebrew inscriptions discovered on Iberian soil were found by chance," noting that in Zaragoza, Burgos, Pamplona, Estella, Vitoria, Calahorra, Valladolid, Palencia, Astorga, Orense, and "so many other cities where the Hebrew aljamas flourished, not one epigraph has been revealed to this day." "Why is this so?" Fita asked rhetorically. "Because," he answered, "they have not been looked for." Fita contended that nonetheless, "the laws of evolution, characteristic

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fue dada á conocer y mereció ser declarada monumento nacional merced á la gestión de ese docto Centro, la Comisión á su vez ha gestionado con empeño para verla restaurada y aunque sus esfuerzos no alcanzaron el éxito anhelado, no han sido, sin embargo, estériles en absoluto: planteados ya bastante tiempo, los estudios preliminares del proyecto de restauración de tan notable monumento, mereced al patriotismo del arquitecto Sr. Velázquez Bosco, Académico de número de la Real de San Fernando; y siendo la restauración poco costosa, resta solo, á juicio de esta Comisión, salvo el superior dictamen de V.E. que esa Real Academia, antes que esta fábrica se pierda, y con ella sus labores delicadas y sus sentidas y elegantes inscripciones, con su autoridad é influencia, excite el patriotismo del Sr. Ministro de Fomento, para que la restauración se llevo á cabo en el menor plazo posible, dada la gravedad del estado en que se encuentra." El Vicepresidente, Francisco B. Pavón y El Vocal Secretario, Rafael Romero Barros Pavón, "La Sinagoga de Córdoba", Comunicaciones, Córdoba 10 de Julio de 1890, BRAH, Julio-Septiembre, Tomo XVII.—Cuadernos I-III (1890), 238-239.

[82]"esta bellísima joya de la arquitectura hispano-hebrea…No se han hecho, como sería de desear, estudio topográfico de la judería de Zaragoza, no recogido no buscado sus inscripciones, que podrían, como la de Calatayud del año 919, ser de gran provecho á la Historia." Fidel Fita, "La Sinagoga de Zaragoza", BRAH 18:1 (Jan. 1891): 82-85. Fita based his description of the synagogue on the work of the Secretario del Cabildo de Zaragoza's *historia eclesiástica Cesaraugustana* (1598).

of historical advances, demand that the Hebrew inscriptions in our Peninsula not be looked at with less interest than the Visigothic and Roman ones." Fita concluded with a detailed report of his proposed methodology to correct such lacunae, providing concrete examples of Hebrew inscriptions he had found, the history they revealed about Spain's Jewish communities and the difficulties in analyzing such data.[83] Fita thus viewed dedication to the Jewish past as essential to the scientific progress of the *patria* and placed Spain's Jewish origins on par with its Christian ones in this context.

Fita clearly viewed the Academia's engagement with Jewish topics as a sign of the patria's progress and equated such efforts with Spain's modernization and scientific advance. In a 1888 tome of the BRAH for example, nearly the entire "Noticias" section of the BRAH was dedicated to news relating to the Jewish past. At the beginning of the section, Fita informed the reader that "The Academy agreed this volume should be at the level of modern developments, and for this reason", he explained, "it would contain a section on the Hebrew calendar and computation."[84] The rest of the section included reports on the discovery of Hebrew funerary stones and inscriptions in Catalonia, news of the publication in Oxford of medieval Hebrew chronicles written by Spanish Jews and a note about a gift to the RAH by Harkavy, one of the Academia's Jewish correspondents in St. Petersburg. The gift was the "most erudite" medieval

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[83] "Casi todas las lápidas hebreas, descubiertas en el suelo ibérico se han hallado por casualidad… En Zaragoza, Burgos, Pamplona, Estella, Vitoria, Calahorra, Valladolid, Palencia, Astorga, Orense y tantas otras ciudades, donde florecieron las aljamas hebreas, ningún epígrafe de ellas han revelado hasta hoy. ¿Por qué? No se han buscado. Sin embargo, la ley de la evolución, característica de los adelantos históricos, exige que no se miren con menos interés las inscripciones hebreas de nuestra Península que las visigóticas y romanas. Para facilitar su investigación y aprovechamiento, conviene determinar los parajes en los cuales hay mayor probabilidad, ó esperanza, de recobrarlas; y luego proceder á la publicación y discusión de su texto. A dar una idea práctica de semejante método se encamina este breve Informe." Fidel Fita, "Monumentos Hebreos", BRAH 50:2 (Feb. 1907): 81-96.

[84] "La Academia acordó que este volumen esté al nivel de los adelantos modernos, por cuya razón contendrá la sección, que el P. Flórez pasó por alto, referente al calendario y cómputo hebreo." Fidel Fita, "Noticias," 12:1 (Jan. 1888), 9-22.

Jewish chronicle of Abraham bar Salomon de Torrutiel, which Harkavy had apparently "discovered in the East and brought back to Europe."[85] The recovery of the Jewish past thus appeared to become a marker of the Spanish state's progress as a modern nation State, as this past was endowed with the potential of establishing or solidifying the foundations of a modern Spanish nation-state.

Another topic which proved of great interest to Fita and which allows us to glean fragments of his vision of Spain's Jewish past was the Spanish Inquisition.[86] Fita clearly understood himself as a pioneer in writing on this topic, and he transcribed hundreds of documents from the archives of the Inquisition and published them verbatim in the BRAH in order to illustrate different aspects of the history of the Jews of Spain. These articles (later to be compiled in *La España Hebrea*), indeed made available previously unpublished documents (including lists of individuals executed or pardoned by the Inquisition as well as documents about the operations of the different tribunals). Moreover, such work represented a counterbalance to the earlier narrative histories on the topic which in Fita's view presented openly subjective and polemical interpretations of the history of the Inquisition. In the first volume of *La España Hebrea,* Fita published a series of documents he entitled: *Nuevas Fuentes para escribir la historia de los hebreos españoles: Bulas inéditas de Inocencio VIII y Alejandro VI.*[87] In his introduction to the section, Fita wrote that by making these documents available, "I am offering a few articles for publication, as a short, but positive service to the science of history...", a statement in keeping with his attempt to make history more empirical and

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[85]" Mr. Harkavy, que descubrió en Oriente y trajo a Europa la Crónica de Abrahan bar Salomon de Torrutiel, ha regalado a nuestra biblioteca las obras doctísimas de que es autor…" Ibid., 22.

[86]For discussion of how one may understand Fidel Fita's way of writing history through an examination of his writing on the Inquisition see also Nitai Shinan, "From Stereotypes to Scientific Research*,"* 164-170.

[87] Fidel Fita, *La España Hebrea*, 116-156.

"scientific" through the collection, publication and preservation of historical documents, as well as of archeological and artistic artifacts and monuments.[88] Moreover, Fita proclaimed that "The general and critical history of the Spanish Inquisition has not been written" and that "how can one not lament that almost all of the fundamental documents over which the historian should exercise his impartial and just circumspection, are in effect not taken advantage or held in disdain, whether they are cast to oblivion, or whether they are shrouded in darkness?"[89] By making such statements, Fita dismissed earlier studies on the Inquisition by scholars across the political spectrum as being fundamentally flawed and partial, suggesting that the only way to write about it objectively was through the "accurate and reliable transcription of authentic documents."[90] Moreover, not unlike Amador de los Ríos, Fita's claim to objectivity in writing on this topic appeared to be a way of placing himself above the polemics attached to this topic.

One way in which Fita attempted to distance himself from polemics was to address the flaws in the works of two authors representing opposing poles in the debate over the history of the Spanish Inquisition. In this case Fita focused on Juan Antonio Llorente's *Historia crítica de la Inquisición en España* (1817) and José García Rodrigo's *Historia verdadera de la Inquisición* I-III (1876-1877).[91] In discussing the work of Llorente, a Liberal anti-cleric whose work on the Inquisition largely represented an attack on religious intolerance and the Church, Fita attempted

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[88] "Corto, pero positive servicio a la ciencia histórica me lisonjeo de haber prestado en esta demanda, ofreciendo para su publicación algunos artículos." Fidel Fita, *La España Hebrea*, 116.

[89] "La historia general y critica de la Inquisición Española no se ha hecho… ¿Cómo no lamentar que casi todos los documentos fundamentales, sobre los cuales debe estribar el juicio circunspecto e imparcial del historiador, se malogren o desestimen por efecto, ora del olvido que sufren, ora de la oscuridad que los envuelve?" Fidel Fita, *La España Hebrea*, 116.

[90] Ibid.

[91] The work was originally printed in French while Llorente was in exile as *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne* (Paris, 1817).

to defend the religious authorities.[92] Fita defended the Papacy against Llorente's accusations regarding its involvement in the Inquisition and corrected his calculations of the number of those tried by the Inquisition. Llorente, according to Fita, "just like Rodrigo" did not "lower himself to consult the historical sources" in his calculations of the number of those tried by the Inquisition. To counter Llorente's conclusions, Fita proceeded to provide inquisitorial documents he had gathered and transcribed from the National archive at Alcalá de Henares.

Fita came to the defense of the Papacy on other occasions as well, using Inquisition documents to make his case. In one such case, he refuted Amador de los Rios' claim that Pope Innocent IV had advocated the destruction of the fourteenth-century Synagogue of Córdoba.[93] As a member of the Jesuit Order, an order which demonstrated fierce loyalty to Rome and as an individual in the employ of a Conservative Restoration government, Fita's defense of the Papacy and critique of anti-clerical views may not appear surprising. But Fita's critique of the work of Garcia Rodrigo, a Conservative historian and apologist for the Inquisition, proved much more impassioned. Fita suggested that García Rodrigo all too often distorted the facts in order to lash out at Llorente. He scorned García Rodrigo for not providing ample evidence of what Fita ironically referred to as Rodrigo's "portrait of [the Inquisition's] evangelical benevolence", a portrait Fita perceived as constructed to oppose Llorente's portrayal. Moreover, Fita sharply reproached García Rodrigo for reporting lower numbers of individuals 'relaxed' [executed] by the Inquisition and commented on how "by means of Rodrigo's pen the burnings were transformed into harmonious melodies…"[94] Such sardonic characterization of García Rodrigo's

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[92]"Nuevas Fuentes para escribir la historia de los hebreos españoles: Bulas inéditas de Inocencio VIII y Alejandro VI", *La España Hebrea*, 117. Originally published in the BRAH 15 (1899): 561-599

[93]Ibid., "Córdoba", 369-366.

[94] Fidel Fita, "Ciudad Real" and "Guadalupe", *La España Hebrea* , 463, 287. Also BRAH, 20:5 (May 1892): 462-520.

portrait of the Inquisition transcends any facade of neutrality regarding the topic, leaving little doubt regarding Fita's feelings about the Holy Office, even if he claimed to be simply be presenting a "scientific" corrective to this history. In view of his critique of García Rodrigo, Fita's defense of the Papacy and critique of Llorente may have been meant to suggest the partisan bias of the work, but also to distance himself from Llorente's political Liberalism.

Another interesting twist in Fita's writing about the Inquisition was that unlike earlier Spanish scholars, Fidel Fita attributed its establishment and direction to Queen Isabel, rather than to King Ferdinand. Other Spanish authors, in contrast, including Llorente, had either exempted Isabel from any responsibility or portrayed her as only following Ferdinand's lead.[95] Indeed, she was lauded and idealized in religious terms in Spanish historiography from the early modern period well into the twentieth-century.[96] Declaring that he would focus on the final years of the fifteenth century when, he wrote, the institution, was "aggrandized and consolidated by the sublime genius of a woman, extirpated Judaism from Spain," Fita at once expressed admiration for Isabel's talent, while charging her with the weighty allegation of having directed "the extermination of Judaism from Spain."[97]

In yet another departure, Fita cited a Hebrew source in support of his claim regarding Isabel's central role in the Inquisition. Citing sixteenth-century Hebrew chronicler Abraham de Torrutiel (originally cited by Adolph Neubauer), Fita argued that Ardutiel "knew well enough where the harm that befell them originated and did not hesitate to call Queen Isabel *ha'arura* (*the*

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[95] Llorente *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, 125-126.

[96] See Peggy Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times* (Philadelphia, 2004).

[97] "…cuando aquella institución agigantada y compacta por el genio sublime de una mujer, extermino de España el judaísmo…" Fidel Fita, *La España Hebrea*, 116.

damned, like the serpent in Paradise)."[98] This proved a significant departure on two levels; given that Isabel of Castille had been sanctified in Spanish historiography from the early modern period onward, such a damning citation (which even emphasized the Hebrew epithet *ha'arura*) from a devout Catholic like Fita was quite unusual. Moreover, unlike Amador de los Ríos, who engaged in numerous polemics with his contemporary Jewish scholars and the Jewish sources they cited in an effort to demonstrate their bias, Fita embraced Aruditiel's and by extension, Neaubuer's rendering of the history of the Jews of Spain as authoritative sources. In fact, Fita even collaborated with two Jewish scholars, Heinreich Graetz and Isidore Loeb (who were already honorary members of the RAH), on an article on the Inquisition published in the BRAH.[99] Fita's Hebraism, one unrivaled at the time in methodological or scientific terms among his Spanish colleagues, and his openness in engaging with Jewish scholars may also explain his uncritical citation of this Hebraic source.

His close reading of Inquisition documents, one of the topics which Fita appeared to have researched most intensely and which clearly captured his imagination, included the most infamous Medieval Spanish blood libel case, that of "El Santo niño inocente de la Guardia."[100] While the details of the case remain shrouded in mystery, the event was particularly significant, as many Spanish historians had attempted to demonstrate a connection between the alleged crime and the decision to expel the Jews in 1492. Fita wished to provide a corrective to all the lore and traditions surrounding the case by establishing what he called the "historical truth." He did so by

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[98]"y bien sabía de donde les vino el mal, no vaciló en llamar a la reina Isabel *ha'arura* (*la maldiata* como el serpiente de Paraíso)." Fidel Fita, *La España Hebrea*, 116. Originally cited by Adolph Neubauer, *Anécdota Oxoniensia; Semitic series* (Oxford: 1887), 111.

[99]Heinreich Graetz, Isidore Loeb and Fidel Fita, "La Inquisición de Torquemada-secretos íntimos." BRAH 23 (Madrid, 1893): 369-434.

[100]For a listing of the sources on this case see Robert Singerman, *The Jews in Spain and Portugal: A Bibliography* (New York, 1975), 84-86.

examining these different traditions, proving their errors and publishing many documents from the trial of Jucé Franco (one of the central figures accused of allegedly murdering the Christian boy) in a series of articles in the BRAH.[101]

Fita attributed the origin of many of these errors to several sources from the sixteenth-century which he believed to be the source of the lore and traditions that surrounded the case. These included the account authored by the notorious apostle from La Guardia, Father Rodrigo Yepes' *Historia del Santo Niño de la Guardia* (1583), and Jerónimo Ramírez's *Hieronymi Ramiri De raptu innocentis martyris gaurdiensis* (1592). The majority of the literature which emerged from these accounts dated the trial to 1491 and attributed the crime to conversos and Jews who had collaborated in murdering the Christian child. Others, like Marecelino Menéndez y Pelayo, attributed the crime to conversos alone and understood it as their reaction to an auto-de-fe which took place in Toledo in 1499. Yet others, like Amador de los Ríos for example, blended both of these explanations, but rejected the connection between the case and the decision to expel the Jews.[102] In this case, Fita's positivistic conviction that the sources told the truth appeared to prevent him from regarding the blood libel as an invention, even while questioning the soundness of relying on confessions earned via torture. Indeed, when he first published the Inquisition documents from the trial of the accused converso which took place between 1490-1491 in the BRAH (1887), he titled the article: "La verdad sobre el martitiro del Santo Niño de la Guardia", betraying his belief that these documents revealed the true story.[103] While Fita's

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[101] Fidel Fita, "La verdad sobre el martirio del santo Niño de la guardia", BRAH 11:1-3 (Jul.-Sep. 1887): 129-134. Fita also addressed the topic directly in "La inquisición Toledana relación contemporánea de los autos y autillos que celebró desde el año 1485 hasta el de 1501", BRAH 11 (Oct. 1887): 289-291, and indirectly in "Toledo" and "Torquemada", 414-419 as well as "Quema y sambenito de Hernando de la Rivera", BRAH 14 (1889): 97-104.

[102] de los Ríos, *Historia* , *Vol. III*, 318-319.

[103] Fidel Fita, "La verdad sobre el martirio del santo Niño de la guardia."

reading of these documents led him to reject the opinion that the auto-de-fe of 1499 had influenced the conversos to commit the crime, he concluded that an earlier auto-de-fe which took place in Toledo on May 7th of 1487 may have incited antagonism and hatred which led the Jews who committed the crime to seek "revenge." Fita also saw a connection between the case and the Expulsion, as he believed chief Inquisitor Torquemada knew of the events well before the sentence was rendered.[104]

Nitai Shinan has argued in this vein that Fita's reliance on the documents as representing the "historical truth" led him to make mistakes and accept a pernicious myth. For Shinan this suggests how deeply-rooted the blood libel was among Spanish historians and Spaniards in general and that it would continue to figure into the imaginary of non-Jews in Spain and elsewhere well into the twentieth-century.[105] From this perspective, Fita's apparently unshakable reliance on the validity of the sources did not allow for a close reading which might have questioned the ways the operations of the Inquisition may have shaped the ways the texts were constructed. In this case one may conclude that Fita's almost ideological dedication to positivistic "objectivity" prevented him from challenging the status quo and thus his fealty to his ecclesiastical and political duties. Moreover, such limitations may have also prevented him from eluding the realm of polemics that he so carefully appeared to avoid.

Nonetheless, in considering Fita's close work with inquisition documents more carefully, a deeper understanding of the relationship between his positivistic objectivity and avoidance of

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[104]Fita respectfully addressed Amador's interpretation and errors on this matter, explaining that the "illustrious Academic" had not seen the documents on the trial of Jucé Franco, suggesting it was thus important to amend this aspect of Amador's "monumental historia." Fidel Fita, "La verdadera historia de la Inquisición", BRAH 11 (Jul.-Sep. 1887): 131-133.

[105]The tale would become popular in the sixteenth-century in the context of tensions between Old and New Christians and would even become the subject of one of the better known plays written during El Siglo del Oro, Lope de Vega Carpio, *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia.* For a history of the myth of Blood libel see David Biale, *Blood and Belief*, and Joshua Trachtenberg (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2008), *The Devil and the Jews: the Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (Philadelphia, 2002).

polemics emerges. For example, in the BRAH, Fita published articles authored by his friend, Isidore Loeb, which attempted to prove the blood libel tale was false and that the Inquisition was nefarious.[106] Moreover, despite the inescapably polemical nature of the topic, Fita's diligent work with Inquisition documents led to important revisions of previous traditions regarding the case of "el Santo Niño de la Guardia"; for the first time in Spain and elsewhere, the documents of the Inquisition were presented as legitimate historical sources which could be read and used outside the realm of polemics driven by ideological struggle and politics. Indeed, Fita pioneered the use of Inquisition sources to reconstruct the lives of Jews, Conversos, Crypto-Jews and other individuals deemed heretics in the Iberian Peninsula and the New World. In this context, Fita's positivism may be understood as a prudent way of advancing the study of the History of the Jews of Spain to a new level—one cloaked by "scientific objectivity" rather than, in the words of Amador de los Ríos, "the teflin of the Jews" or "the crest of the Holy Office."[107] Adherence to such methodology allowed Fita to distance himself from appearing to write history that directly broke with the Restoration's Conservative status quo, even as he delicately, but methodically, sowed the seeds for its very fissure.[108]

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[106] Graetz et al., "La inquisición de Torquemada," 429.

[107] de los Ríos, *Historia*, 7-8.

[108] Decades later, the use of Inquisition documents would once again return to the realm of overt polemics in debates over questions ranging from the nature of anti-Jewish sentiment in the Iberian Peninsula to the Jewish identity of New Mexico's contemporary crypto-Jewish community. On the debate over the use of the records of the Inquisition as legitimate historical sources in the reconstruction of the history of the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula see B.Z. Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York, 1995) and his *The Marranos of Spain, from the Late XIVth to the Early XVth Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources* (New York, 1966**).** Netanyahu dismisses the use of the records of the Inquisition for historical purposes as he refuses to examine it as a legitimate legal institution, claiming it was cloaked in sanctity and legality while its true purpose was to serve as a propaganda tool to direct popular discontent and that the persecution of the Conversos was pre-meditated, racial and genocidal and had nothing to do with religious concerns. In addition to Netanyahu's teleological application of racial and genocidal impulses to this chapter of Jewish history, his sources are Jewish Responsa which prove problematic as the rabbis facing legal matters regarding the Jews who wished to return to Judaism were often concerned with the welfare of their communities which often led them to accuse the Marranos of not being sincere Jews. For the opposing view see, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, "Assimilation and Racial anti-

While Fita's understanding of anti-Jewish and anti-converso allegations might appear ambivalent, his views regarding persecution of the Jews were clear. In his article "Estrago de las juderías catalanas. Relación contemporánea", Fita published documents on the massacres of 1391 and the destruction of the Catalan *aljamas*.[109] Like Amador de los Ríos, he referred to "the terrible social question" as a major factor in stirring the events of 1391:

> In Barcelona, as in Gerona and in Palma de Mallorca, the movement was reinforced by the terrible social question, which had been revived in our own century. Agriculture, impoverished and decayed from bad customs of land tenure and impoverishment by usurious lending, led the tenant farmers who invaded the capitals to commit great deprivations.[110]

In this case, Fita seemed to understand the anti-Jewish violence as a product of deep social dissatisfaction which he attributed to larger social and political ills, ones whose relevance, like Amador, he extended into the present. Unlike Amador, however, Fita did not offer this explanation of popular sentiment as a rationalization for anti-Jewish violence. Rather, Fita

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Semitism: The Iberian and the German Models" (Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture, 1982), who regarded the Inquisition as a legitimate legal institution created to destroy a perceived menace to the Christian faith and the records of the Inquisition as valid evidence (while cautioning the historian must approach them critically) in the reconstruction of the life of Marranos. Moreover, he disputes the belief that these records served as an instrument of propaganda as they were confidential. Also see Gerson D. Cohen's review of Netanyahu in *Jewish Social Studies* 29 (1967); Ellis Rivkin's review in *AHR* 72, 1967; Martin Cohen's "Toward a New Comprehension of the Marranos", *Hispania Judaica*, Vol. 1: History (Barcelona, 1980): 103-115, as well Ellis Rivkin "How Jewish Were the New Christians?" in *Hispania Judaica*, Vol. 1: History (Barcelona, 1980), 105-115 and Netanyahu's reply in the same edited volume. These debates have most recently re-emerged in the wake of the use of Inquisition documents to prove the Jewish roots of the Latino "crypto-Jewish" communities throughout the Southwest. The controversial figure Stanley Hordes of the University of New Mexico has been the pioneer of this historiography and the most vocal advocate of the claims of these communities. See for example his study, *To the End of the Earth: A History of the Crypto-Jews of New Mexico* (New York, 2005). His views have been disputed by scores of historians. For an excellent "agnostic" overview of the debate and its broader implications for questions of ethnic identity see Jonathan Freedman, "Marranos, Conversos and Crypto-Latinos: Jewish and Hispanic Crossings in the American Southwest and the Boundaries of Ethnic Identity," paper presented at the University of Pittsburgh "Discourses of Jewishness" colloquium, 2008 and his book, *Klezmer America: Jewishness, Ethnicity, Modernity* (New York, 2008).

[109] "Estrago de las juderías catalanas. Relación contemporánea" he published documents on the massacres of 1391 and the destruction of the Catalan *aljamas*." Fidel Fita, *La España Hebrea*, 174. Originally printed in BRAH 16 (1890): 432-445.

[110] "En Barcelona, así como en Gerona y en Palma de Mallorca, el movimiento se reforzó de la terrible cuestión social, que ha vuelto a revivir en nuestro siglo. La agricultura, envilecida y postrada por los *malos usos* de la propiedad territorial y por el esquilmo del préstamo usurario, armó los brazos de los colonos, que invadieron las capitales y se despacharon a su gusto." Ibid., 174.

presented these factors as a way of understanding a particular historical moment and events. Moreover, while for Amador the issue of *libertad de cultos* and the Carlist wars presented the backdrop to his social and political critique, the context of Fita's discussion of the "revival" of this "terrible social question" connected to his views on the political landscape of Spain of the Restoration. As such, Fita's discussion of such ills may be understood as a statement about the corruption riddled political system of Restoration Spain and an implicit critique of its general state of decay, from which (through his dedication to advancing the "science of history") Fita hoped Spain could emerge.

Another aspect of Jewish persecution which preoccupied Fita was the role of the Church and the Catholic faith in such violence. Fita indicated his utmost revulsion and contempt for the persecutors and their transgressions, concluding that "The horror those monsters inspired, naturally reflected poorly on the Catholic faith, which to the eyes or apprehension of the unfortunate Jews authorized such excesses."[111] While Fita had come to the defense of the Church on other occasions, in this case he offered no apologies, unlike Amador de los Ríos who had so desperately sought to redeem Catholicism from the perception of having sanctioned such violence. Rather, it appears that by calling attention to this topic, even if portraying it through the perception of the Jews, Fita meant to offer sharp criticism of the Church's role in tacitly authorizing the persecutions. Moreover, in his discussion of the massacres of 1391, Fita's heroes proved not to be Amador's benevolent friars like San Vicente Ferrer, but "the cases of loyal friends and honorable citizens who did not turn a deaf ear to the voice of piety and opened their

[111] **"**El horror que inspiraban aquellos monstruos refluiría naturalmente contra la fe católica, que a los ojos o ante la aprensión de las desgraciadas hebreas, autorizaba tales excesos." Ibid., 178.

doors to the fugitives of the *Call*, who could not find refuge in the new fortress."[112] For Fita, it was ultimately the lay citizens of Barcelona who assumed the "voice of piety" in the absence, as he suggests, of an ecclesiastical example from which to draw inspiration or to emulate.

Fita's understanding of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain appears in ways to be similar to Amador de los Rios' rendering, connecting with an understanding of Spain's Jewish past as having the redemptive potential of restoring Spain's intellectual prowess and even moral compass. So much is clear in Fita's plea for salvaging any remains of Spain's Jewish culture in an article on the destruction and plundering of the Jewish cemetery in Seville and the loss of books on astronomy and medicine written by the Jews of the city. Fita lamented the destruction and decay of the study of Oriental languages in Spain, viewing this situation as directly connected to the expulsion of the Jews: "How painful the loss of those artistic and literary treasures which popular hands so plagued by hunger squandered in no time at all in the year…1580! Their destruction, done in cold blood without the effervescence which marked that of the year 1391, demonstrates once again the state of decay of the study of Oriental languages since the expulsion of the Jews." In this case, it appears that for Fita, the Jewish past, though in the form of concrete documents or artifacts, held the redemptive potential Amador de los Ríos had attributed to it in his narration of the history of the Jews of Spain. Indeed, Fita claimed that "not everything has been lost: and it would be just to search for and salvage, even if only for the use of history, the remains of this vast shipwreck."[113]

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[112]"Hubo casos de amigos fieles y de ciudadanos honrados, que no se hicieron sordos a la voz de la piedad, y abrieron sus puertas a los fugitivos del *Call,* que no podía defender el castillo nuevo. Esto consta por el códice Escurialense." Ibid., 179.

[113] "¡Cuán dolorosa pérdida la de aquellos tesoros de arte y de literatura que manos populares y acosados por el hambre disiparon en un santiamén, el año de gracia de 1580! Su destrozo, hecho á sangre fría y sin la efervescencia que distinguió de del año 1391, muestra una vez más cómo iban postergándose en España los estudios de las lenguas orientales desde la expulsión de los judíos. No todo, sin embargo, se ha perdido; y justo será buscar y salvar, siquiera para utilidad de la Historia, los resto de tamaño naufragio." BRAH 17:1-3 (Jul.-Sep. 1890): 183.

Fita's vision of the Jewish past beckons one to examine factors beyond Fita's scholarly work in the BRAH. For why, one could ask, would a religious figure in the employ of a Conservative Restoration state advance such ambivalent views of the historical position of the Church and Catholicism with regard to this history? A consideration of the connections and tensions between Fita's devotion to his ecclesiastical and scholarly duties indeed offers greater insight to Fita's vision of the Jewish past. Fita's relationship with the Catholic Church suggests the degree to which he struggled with the divide between his public and most likely private identities as both a cleric and lay scholar. In the 1880s Fita had become close to the positions of the Jesuit Miguel Mir, which was apparently not seen favorably by his superiors. Fita's scholarly activities and involvement in the Real Academia de la Historia were equally looked at askance upon by the Church. In 1889, for example, in a sign of such disapproval, Fidel Fita was banned from participating in the First Catholic Congress by the *sectores unionistas del catolicismo español*. While he was banned from fully participating in the world of the Church his ecclesiastical obligations also prevented him from fully participating in the world of scholarship and perhaps even from gaining wider recognition outside of Spain.

Indeed, quite ironically, for all of the international prominence and connections he had fostered, Fita was unable to travel abroad. The Jesuit Order had refused to grant Fita permission to leave Spain, as it considered such trips incompatible with his religious duties. At one point, Cánovas del Castillo even intervened on his behalf, requesting that Fita's Jesuit superiors allow him to travel to the World Exposition in Chicago in 1893, where he was asked to direct the archeological section of the Spanish exhibit. His request was denied, as was a similar attempt to

join an expedition to represent Spain in Africa.[114] Perhaps, such conflict may explain Fita's absence from participation in the major Spanish archeological discoveries of the early twentieth-century in which many of his closest colleagues such as Eduardo Saavedra became involved, as well as his silence regarding such monumental archeological findings as that of the *Dama de Elche*.[115]

While some insights into Fita's way of reconstructing Spanish history may be gleaned from his life and scholarship, remarks by Eduardo Saavedra, Fita's lifelong friend and collaborator, help to place Fita's dedication to writing *historia patria* into sharper relief. Saavedra was charged with preparing the response to Fita's acceptance speech which he delivered once Fita's appointment to the Real Academia de la Historia received official approval in July of 1879. Saavedra's speech, over which he apparently labored for almost a year, presented a passionate portrayal of Fita's contributions to the "new 'science' of history" and its importance for the re-construction of the origins of the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula.[116] By vividly describing how in Fita's epigraphical studies "antiquity took shape and color, as if it came to life from the ashes where it reposed…and the Hebrew epitaphs of Catalonia gave faith to the Jewish aljamas…" he essentially brought to life and provided nuance to the hundreds or thousands of inscriptions and documents Fita transcribed and published in the BRAH. Moreover, by describing how for Fita "the problem of the population of Spain remained focused on discovering who were these Iberians and Celts…and who today represents the original 'type' of these races, who tied to the soil through conquest and civilization, received the language,

[114]Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 36-37. The author suggests that the conflict with his religious superiors may have begun when Fita refused to relocate to Aragon in 1876 and establish his residence there and the Order in Aragon attempted to annul his permanent residence in Madrid.

[115]Ibid., 53-54.

[116]Pérez de Guzmán, "Notas biográficas," 109.

religion and the customs, of Romans, like Arabs, to the point of finally melding into the great Spanish family….", he provided a historical vision of Fita's labors that entered into the heart of contemporary polemics over the identity of Spain's original inhabitants and theories of racial hybridity of which Fita had appeared to steer clear.[117] While Saavedra himself was deeply interested in and committed to such theories, the intimate nature of his friendship with Fita and the fact this instance did not represent the first time he acted as a spokesperson on Fita's behalf, make it unlikely Fita would have objected to such a portrayal. Perhaps, given the constraints Fita experienced in his attempts to navigate the divide between his ecclesiastical duties and lay endeavors, it was only through Saavedra that his more critical and deeper vision of Spain's past and interest in Jewish Spain could find expression.

Conclusion

Fita continued to have a major presence at the Real Academia de la Historia and to publish articles related to the Spain's Jewish past up until his death in 1918. In 1912, he became Director of the RAH, and was reelected to the post in 1915.[118] His election was celebrated in Spain and abroad and he was awarded many honors including the *Gran Cruz de la Orden Civil*

[117]**"**La lingüística, ciencia nueva, necesitaba ya discurrir en España con arreglo á los principios de la ciencia moderna, y el P. Fita la acometió con el brío y aplomo y presiden en todas sus obras, cuidando de 'no pasar alguno que no llevara por delante la clara luz del método experimental ó el criterio despreocupado que se funda sólidamente en la verdad de los hechos.' Para él el problema de la población de España quedó limitado á averiguar qué fueron esos iberos y esos celtas…y quienes hoy representan hoy el tipo originario de aquellas razas, que, adheridas al suelo por la civilización y la conquista, recibieron el habla, la religión y las costumbres, ya de romanos, ya de árabes, hasta fundirse al fin en la gran familia española…." Ibid., 109-110.

[118]Menéndez y Pelayo died in Santander his place of birth, on 19 May 1912 at the age of 56. Fidel Fita was initially elected as interim director on 28 May 1912, and officially elected on 13 December 1912. He was reelected on 10 December 1915. See BRAH 68 (1916): 98, also cited by Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 27.

de Alfonso XII (1913).[119] On 25 November of 1917, a public homage to Fita took place in his native Catalan town of Arenys de Mar. Local representatives and dignitaries attended the occasion, in which crowds of people gathered in the streets to witness the unveiling of a large commemorative plaque on the façade of the house where he was born. Fita, already too ill to attend the event, was honored as an "illustrious son" of Arneys de Mar and a "distinguished investigator of Antiquity and *historia patria*".[120] In 1918 only a few months before his death Fita was elected an Académico de Número of the prestigious *Real Academia Española* and contributed his linguistic expertise in Semitic and other ancient languages to the preparation of the Real Academia's *Diccionario Vulga*.[121]

On 15 January 1918, the same year of the celebration of the centennial of the birth of Amador de los Rios, and over a year after the unveiling of the plaque in Arenys del Mar, Fidel Fita died. His death occasioned a public funeral and pageant in the Church del Sagrado Corazón de San Francisco de Borja, and drew top ranking officials, royalty and other dignitaries. It was covered widely by the national press and one paper described the event as "one of the most effusive manifestations of grief witnessed in Spain."[122] The king, Don Alfonso, as well as representatives of Queen Doña Cristiana and the Infanta Doña Isabel attended; dukes and counts joined the funerary proceedings, as did the Minister of Public Instruction, the directors of the

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[119]Fita was also an *Académico* [fellow] of the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* and among other honors a *correspondiente* of the Archeological Institute of Rome.

[120] The plaque read in capital letters: "Nasque en aquesta casa el P. Fidel Fita Colomer de la Companyia de Jesús. La Vila D'Arenys De Mar A Son Fill Illustre Director de L'Academia de La Historia Erudit I Arqueoleg Merittissim Invesigador de la Antiguitat I de la Historia patria. In Memoiram." Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 28-29.

[121]Julián Riber, "El Padre Fita, en la Real Academia Española", BRAH, 72: 2 (Feb. 1918): 125-126.

[122]"formando una le las más efusivas manifestaciones de duelo que se han visto...", "Homenaje de duelo**,"** *La Época* Feb. 14, 1918, cited in "Documentos Oficiales", BRAH (1918): 174 and Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita*, 53-54.

royal academies and some of the country's leading intellectuals, as well as religious authorities such as the bishop of Madrid-Alcalá who presided over the service.[123]

Beyond the funeral itself, outpourings of grief and tributes to Fita arrived from all quarters of Spain and abroad bemoaning the "national pain" his death had occasioned. At Fita's residence in Madrid, the *Casa Profesa de la Compañía de Jesús*, scores of condolence letters, telegrams, and postcards, were received from national and international scholarly academies and societies, professional associations, municipal governments, archives and museums, bishops and archbishops in Spain and Morocco and King Don Alfonso and Queen Doña Cristina.[124] Moreover, obituaries and homages to Fita were published in all of Spain's major national, regional and provincial newspapers, in terms qualifying him as "one of the most eminent scientific personalities of Spain whose reputation is consecrated in the entire world…" and, as "everyone knows….a true Saint."[125] The rendering or, one may even say, sanctification, of Fita as a hero of the patria who simultaneously embodied the virtues of Science and Christianity appeared to frame the ways in which he was commemorated to official memory.

This way of qualifying Fita's role as a champion of the Spanish patria, was perhaps most palpable at the Real Academia de la Historia. When news of Fita's death reached the RAH on January 18th, the Marqués de Laurencín who became the interim Director in his stead delivered a funerary speech in his honor. Not only was Fita a source of pride for the Academia, according to de Laurencín, but "the legitimate pride of the entire patria, of the Spanish nation." Moreover, he

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[123] Ibid., 30.

[124] These letters were transferred to the RAH which published many of them. "Documentos Oficiales", BRAH 1918.

[125] "es uno de las eminentes personalidades científicas de España, y su reputación está consagrada en el mundo entero... El P. Fita, todos lo saben, es un verdadero santo.", *La Época* cited in BRAH (1918): 173. Obituaries of Fita which described him in similar terms were also published in *El imparcial* and *La Nación* (Feb. 15, 1918) and many provincial newspapers.

declared, "Fita's name and glory transcended the limits and frontiers of his patria" as he was "esteemed and admired by the learned men of the Old and new World as one of the most celebrated and famous individuals generated by an intellectual Spain." The speech portrayed the breadth of Fita's scholarly work and made special mention of his dedication to the recovery of the Jewish past, indicating that his "fluency in Hebrew allowed him to interpret, translate and publish the Jewish inscriptions of the synagogues and Aljamas of our Spanish cities." While the speech mainly focused on Fita's scholarly accomplishments, Laurencín also emphasized Fita's "exemplary Christian virtues" as forming part of his "outstanding qualities", for he believed Fita's death was not only a loss of a "true sage" for the "patria, Science and the Academia" but for the religion of Christ and the Jesuit Order", the loss of "a pious and just man, a true saint." In fact, de Laurencín concluded his speech by declaring that "Up in the heavens God would grant him what he already deserved and diligently achieved in this life through the constant practice and assiduous exercise of his public and private Christian virtues."[126] It would thus seem that according to the interim director of the RAH, the conflation of the virtues of Christianity and Science which he found in Fita, represented the ideal of "an intellectual Spain."[127]

RAH fellow Juan Peréz de Guzmán y Gallo, who offered a comprehensive biographical account of Fita's life and work in the BRAH at this time, introduced Fita as "a sublime religious man and saint in his ecclesiastical discipline" as well as "a hard-working and innovative Academic" responsible for "aggrandizing the Institution" helping it to universally achieve

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[126] "Y así lo es, en efecto, pues la patria, la Ciencia y la Academia han perdido un varón eminente, un verdadero sabio; la religión de Cristo y la Compañía de Jesús, un varón piadoso y justo, un verdadero santo." "El Padre Fita Discurso Necrológico pronunciado en la Real Academia de la Historia por el Marqués de Laruencín." Madrid, MCMXVIII, 118 and republished as Francisco Rafael Uhagón y Guardamino, "Discurso: Pronunciado por el Exmo. Sr. Márques de Laurencín, Director Accidental, en la sesión del viernes 18 de Enero de 1918 al darse cuenta del fallecimiento del Sr. Director, R.P. Fidel Fita, S.J.," BRAH 72:2 (Feb. 1918): 11.

[127] Ibid.

"greatness and respect."[128] While drawing this distinction between Fita's lay and ecclesiastical duties, de Guzmán y Gallo spoke of Fita's contributions to the progress of science, ones he believed transcended "national sentiment", in religious terms: For Fita, he claimed, "the universal concept of the world of knowledge outside of Spain elevated him to the highest of spheres: as a sage of supreme influence in scientific progress in which he united the concept of moral man, which immortalizes him as a sage and a saint."[129] Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, who had been one of distinguished neo-Catholic scholar Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo's most prestigious disciples, remarked that "beneath the somewhat dry and melancholic appearance of the antiquarian and philologist, was hidden in this scholar a heart of a poet, a spirit of a humanist…he was a man of science and at the same time a great patriot…"[130] It thus appeared that for some Spaniards engaged in constructing the *patria* at the time, humanism and science fused with the values of Christianity was tantamount to patriotism. While for others, like Bonilla y San Martín, science and patriotism were not necessarily intertwined.

Other Academia members offered a somewhat different perspective in their tributes to Fita. RAH member Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud, who "Trembling with emotion" his eyes "brimming with tears" offered what he described as a "much deserved and affectionate tribute of gratitude" to Fita. He explained that Fita, "that virtuous and exemplary priest", was responsible

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[128]"Mi trabajo definitivo, que abarcará toda la biografía histórica del religioso sublime y santo en la disciplina eclesiástica á que pertenecía, en el sacerdocio… Del Académico laborioso y renovador, que ha tenido la fortuna en su casi medio siglo de colaboración y dirección, de engrandecer la institución que hicieron universalmente tan grande y tan respetada.." Ibid., 98.

[129]"…cuando aun vivo podía conmover su corazón aquel cariñoso latido de su patria…El sentimiento nacional, sin embargo, el concepto universal del mundo sabio fuera de España, lo elevan en estos momentos á las más altas esferas: el primero, como un sabio de influencia suprema en esos progresos de la ciencia, á la que unía el concepto del hombre moral, que lo inmortaliza como un sabio y un santo." Pérez de Guzmán, "Notas biográficas," 111.

[130]"Y de que bajo la apariencia, un tanto seca y melancólica, del anticuario y del filólogo, se ocultaba en aquel investigador un corazón de poeta un espíritu de humanista... fue un hombre de ciencia y al mismo tiempo un gran patriota..." Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, "El Padre Fita y el Humanismo", BRAH 72:2 (Feb. 1918): 125.

for bringing him, "an old positivistic professor and politician of the extreme Left," to the Academia.[131] Such tribute is testament to Fita's intellectual openness as the majority of the academic appointments in Restoration Spain were political ones and thus, as in his historical work, Fita appeared in this case to transcend the regime's factionalist clientelism. Moreover, that tributes such as Rafael Ureña y Smenjaud's formed part of the RAH's official program commemorating Fita, even if not as the keynote speech, serves as a reminder of the lack of political and ideological uniformity in Restoration Spain and of conceptions of *historia patria* during this period.

While Fidel Fita was publicly championed as a hero of the *patria* and a promoter of *historia official* upon his death, such commemorations nonetheless generally silenced and obscured the politics of his engagement with Spanish history. The level of subtlety with which Fita operated within the foci of Restoration era cultural and intellectual hegemony remained unacknowledged by the majority of his contemporaries. That Fita proved instrumental in institutionalizing the study of the Jewish Past and Hebraism at the Real Academia de la Historia, and thus incorporating it into 'offical' *historia patria* is irrefutable. Fidel Fita, not only paved the way for future generations of Spanish Hebraists and historians of Spain's Jewish past, but by treading carefully between *historia positivista* and *historia oficial* sowed the seeds whose latent germination prepared the ground for counter-hegemonic narratives of this history. A massive portrait of Fidel Fita by Lozano Sidro hangs in the *planta noble* of the Real Academia de la Historia to this day, and Fita's penetrating gaze serves as a reminder of his vital role in shaping the institution and Spain's *historia patria*.

[131] "Así llegó á la Academia este Viejo profesor positivista y político de la extrema izquierda, por la iniciativa y la propuesta de aquel virtuoso y ejemplarísimo sacerdote…Dejadme, pues, que, trémulo de emoción y con los ojos preñados de lágrimas rinda este merecido y cariñoso tributo de gratitud…." Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud, "Último tribute de respeto y gratitud", BRAH 72:2 (Feb. 1918): 124.

Chapter III

Orientalismo Hebraico as Spain's Other History:

The Place of the Jewish Past in Theories of Iberian Hybridity (1880-1918)

Fidel Fita was certainly not alone in his dedication to the recovery of the Jewish past in Restoration Spain. During a session at the *Real Academia de la Historia* in March of 1887, those present learned that on the 5th of the month, "Sres. Fernández y González and Fita, sponsored by the RAH, left Madrid for Toledo to examine the Hebraic and Arabic inscriptions of the Sinagoga Mayor…preceded by an English dame of the Hebrew Rothschild family, who read the Hebrew inscriptions without any difficulty."[1] The individual who joined Fita on the expedition, Orientalist Francisco Fernández y González (who also happened to be the son-in-law of José Amador de los Ríos) had become known for his claims regarding the importance of the "Semitic" influence on the formation of Spanish culture and how such racial and cultural mixing had greatly benefited and left an imprint on Spain's "great history, on its customs, on its language and even on its bloodline."[2]

Fidel Fita's fixation on epigraphy and the transcription and translation of hundreds of Hebrew documents with scant analysis thus reflected one way the project of recovering the Jewish past moved towards a more empirical and seemingly objective or "scientific" approach grounded in Hebraism. For some of his contemporaries such as Francisco Fernández y González

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[1] Abascal Palazón, *Fidel Fita* 23, 45, 57. "El día 5 por encargo de la Academia, los sres. Fernández y González y Fita salieron de Madrid para Toledo para revisar las inscripciones hebreas y arábigas de la Sinagoga mayor. Les había precedido una dama inglesa de la familia hebrea de los Rothschild, la cual había leído sin dificultad las inscripciones hebreas. Está con ellos D. Arturo Madrid, encargado de la restauración de la parta arquitectónica del edificio."

[2] Francisco Fernández y González, *Plan de una biblioteca de autores árabes españoles o estudios biográficos y bibliográficos para servir a las historia de la literatura arábiga en España* (Madrid 1861), ix. Also cited in Martín-Márquez, Disorientations, 32.

however, the move towards Hebraism encompassed a much more far-reaching elaboration of and engagement with the nation's Jewish past. What Fidel Fita had conveyed through thousands of transcriptions of documents was thus put into sharper relief by Fernández y González's historical writing, which reflected a broader conceptualization of Spanish history in relation to the Iberian Peninsula's multiethnic past.

In this chapter I discuss the place of the Jewish past in the elaboration of a national historical narrative based on theories of Iberian cultural and racial hybridity. Such ideas connected to the rise of a Liberal Arabism which glorified Muslim Spain, emphasizing Iberian hybridity. I focus here on the work of Orientalist Francisco Fernández y Gonzalez, who uniquely elaborated what I refer to as "Hebraic Orientalism"—a theory espousing a Semitic-Iberian hybridity—to explain the origins of Spain. The "Hebraic Orientalism" of Fernández y González was largely based upon the seemingly conflicting notions of the exceptionalism and universalism of the Jews and 'Jewishness' as a context for claiming Spanish exceptionalism vis-a- vis the rest of Europe. I refer to this seeming dichotomy as "universalist particularism", inspired by Egar Illas' use of Emmanuel Levinas' concept relating to the nature of Jewish messianism to discuss Catalan philosemitism.[3] This paradigm posited the antiquity of the presence of the Jews in Spain, suggesting that they represented the foundations of the Spanish patria and even of all "Western Civilization." Fernández y González's "Hebraic Orientalism" thus posed a counter-narrative to what has largely been considered the hegemonic version of historia patria elaborated in nineteenth-century Spain. Finally, I present some of the more hostile responses to such theories, responses based on notions of Catholic Iberian purity. Here I suggest evidence of the expansion and rise of neo-Catholic thought and ideology in Spain, and how the

[3]Edgar Illas, "On Universalist Particularism: the Catalans and the Jews," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12:1 (Mar. 2011): 77-94; and Emmanuel Lévinas, *Difficult Freedom: Essays on Judaism* (Baltimore, 1990).

Jewish past would once again figure as an issue of debate in increasingly fractured visions of the patria. Interestingly, I demonstrate how these claims and refutations of Spanish "Semitic" hybridity both were influenced by the rise of racialist thinking in Spain.[4]

I. From *Arabismo* to *Hebraismo*

Francisco Fernández y González, the Orientalist who had traveled to Toledo to examine its Synagogue's Hebrew inscriptions along with Fidel Fita in 1887, proved a pioneer in advancing theories of Iberian hybridity within the context of the writing of Spanish national history. Born in the southeastern municipality of Albacete on 26 September of 1833, Fernández y González was a student of the eminent Liberal Arabist, Don Pascual Gayangos, and like his mentor, his intellectual formation closely connected him to Liberal Krausism. Fernández y González further elaborated the ideas first introduced by Gayangos, and became instrumental in drawing the study and research of the Muslim past into public debate over the national past.[5]

Examination of Fernández y González's Arabism not only allows us to gain an understanding of the foundations of his ideas regarding the place of Iberian hybridity in the shaping of Spanish society, but also provides us with an understanding of the connection between his Arabism and emergent Hebraism. Fernández y González contributed to the rise of a Liberal Arabism that through its glorification of Muslim Spain and emphasis on "convivencia" and Iberian hybridity presented a more ambivalent counter-narrative to what has been commonly considered 'official' history elaborated in Spain of the Restoration. This approach yielded

[4]On racialist thinking and discourse in nineteenth century Spain see Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood* .

[5]Don Pascual Gayangos went into exile to Britain where he continued to publish. On Gayangos see Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship*, and Manuela Manzanares de Cirre, *Arabistas españoles*.

historical narratives, as well as literary and linguistic studies firmly supported by a broad range of primary linguistic, literary and cultural sources in the original Arabic.

The African war of 1859 served as a foundational event for modern Spanish Orientalism, as the government recruited scholars, especially Liberal Orientalists, to support and participate in its colonial project.[6] Among these scholars were José Amador de los Ríos and Eduardo Saavedra, Fidel Fita's long time friend and intellectual partner.[7] Spanish government officials and other advocates of the war in Morocco asserted that Spaniards were well equipped for such colonization and its proclaimed "mission civilisatrice," given their historical and genealogical affinity to North Africa via Spain's Muslim past, going back to the Arab conquest of 711.[8] In this context, Liberal Arabism emphasized the cultural and racial contributions of Spanish Muslims, while its Conservative counterpart was founded on the negation and disparagement of this legacy. For Liberals such arguments were also elaborated against the backdrop of the struggle over *libertad de cultos* as they condemned the expulsion of the moriscos in the sixteenth century and the establishment of the Inquisition.

The emphasis on the history of multiethnic contact in Spain also closely connected to the emergence of racialist thought in nineteenth-century Spain. As Joshua Goode has argued, many racial theorists in Spain "confronted limitations of Spain's history head on and used them as the defining characteristics of *la raza española* (the Spanish 'race'), and forged an identity whose main buttress was Spain's history of multiethnic contact." The "racial strength" of Spain according to such theorists thus was rooted in the ability of "the Spanish race" to fuse the

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[6]Susan Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations*, 29-55 and Riviére Gómez, *Orientalismo y nacionalismo*.

[7]See de los Rios, *Victorias de Africa*.

[8]See Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations*, 50-52.

different groups that coexisted on the Iberian Peninsula."[9] The conflation of nineteenth-century Spanish neo-colonial designs, racial thought and social Darwinism, as well as national politics, thus informed and fostered the development of Liberal Spanish linguistic and historical Orientalism centered on ideas of Iberian hybridity.

Fernández y González's Arabism centered on the idea that Modern Spain owed much to its former Muslim rulers and their cultural, linguistic and even racial legacies. In this context, he also posited Al-Andalus as a beacon of progress of "extraordinary cultural efflorescence" against a Christian Europe he relegated to the shadows of the "dark ages."[10] The pioneering efforts of earlier Spanish Arabists such as his mentor Gayangos, as well as those of scholars like his father--in-law, Amador de los Ríos, sowed the seeds for such interpretation. Fernández y González's academic training, political leanings, and his times, however, all allowed for a more far-reaching approach in both critical and methodological (or 'scientific') terms.

Fernández y González first introduced his ideas on the Muslim past in his outline for a new book series of Hispano-Arabic authors: *Plan de una biblioteca de autores árabes españoles ó estudio biográficos y bibliográficos para servir á la historia de la literatura arábiga en España*.[11] He dedicated the *Plan* to his mentor, the "illustrious Orientalist Don Pascual Gayangos, as a gesture of admiration, affection and appreciation for his teaching", referring to

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[9]Goode, *Impurity of Blood*, 1-19.

[10]Francisco Fernández y González, "La influencia de lenguas y letras orientales en la cultura de los pueblos de la Peninsula Ibérica", Francisco Fernández y González and Francisco Andrés Commelerán y Gómez, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública de D. Francisco Fernández y González el día 28 de enero de 1894* (Madrid: 1894), 16.

[11]Fernández y González, *Plan de una biblioteca de autores árabes españoles*.

himself as his "disciple".[12] Fernández y González moreover suggested that his work (and that of his mentor) aimed to advance Arabism in Spain to a level appropriate for the times, serving as a corrective to earlier scholarship on the topic: "the state of the scant information collected by D. Nicolás Antonio in his *Biblioteca Vetus* of Hispanic authors…surely could not satisfy the Spaniards of the XIX century…"[13] While he proudly proclaimed that since the appearance of the *Biblioteca* "we have witnessed with enthusiasm, the diminutive number of sixty two Arab writers cited by D. Nicolás Antonio elevated to several thousand through my own work and the lectures and teaching of my wise teacher D. Pascual Gayangos."[14]

Such statements represented a deeper political commentary and vision that transcended expressions of pupil-mentor fealty and self aggrandizement. This is clear in the prologue to the *Plan* in which Fernández y González laments that while in all the other major European countries Orientalist societies had been established, "only in our beloved patria where the cultivation of Oriental studies occupied such a brilliant place" in the sixteenth-century, and which more recently had witnessed a "true renaissance" under Charles III in the eighteenth-century," were such societies "non-existent." Fernández y González attributed this dearth to a lack of state support for such initiatives, given the "civil discords that have torn apart [Charles III's] beautiful country".[15] As a result of this adverse political climate, Fernández y González

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[12]"Al ilustrado orientalista Don Pascual Gayanos en señal de admiración, cariño y agradecida enseñanza y a quien ofrece estos estudios, fruto de algunos años de investigación en la esfera de la Historia Literaria de los árabes españoles, Su discipulo, Francisco Fernández y González." Ibid.

[13]See Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*.

[14]"En tal estado las escasas noticias reunidas por D. Nicolás Antonio en su *Biblioteca Vetus* de autores hispánicos no pueden satisfacer á los españoles del siglo XIX …desde entonces habiendo visto con entusiasmo elevarse á algunos miles, así en mis particulares lecturas como en las conferencias y enseñanza de mi docto maestro D. Pascual Gayangos, el reducido número de sesenta y dos escritores árabes citados pro D. Nicolás Antonio…" Fernández y González, *Plan de una biblioteca de autores árabes españoles*.

[15]"Sólo en nuestra patria querida, que tan brillante lugar ocupará en el siglo XVI en el cultivo de los estudios orientales, y que debió en el siglo pasado á la protección de un ilustrado monarca un verdadero

contended, "our Orientalists experience the indifference or disdain of their compatriots who have let Conde die in oblivion and in utmost poverty."[16] The state of this field of studies had reached such "extreme impoverishment" he argued, that "in a not too distant period, a distinguished Spanish Orientalist"—a clear reference to Gayangos—"had to write on foreign soil and in a foreign tongue in order to avoid the obstacles generated by the bad feelings, or the indifferent apathy our country offers this class of publications."[17]

The nineteenth-century Spaniards Fernández y González claimed would not be satisfied with the current state of Spanish Orientalist studies appeared to pertain to a new Spain whose reinvention and future trajectory Fernández y González hoped to foster through his efforts to engage in acts of historical recovery. While Fernández y González looked to contemporary Europe as a measure of 'progress' as far as the state of Oriental studies, he also contemplated the possibility of undermining claims to the continent's 'western' foundations in favor of a 'superior' hybrid Orientalist Iberia. Such historical recovery moreover suggested a neo-colonial context and designs. Commenting on the African War, Fernández y González lamented that while many Spanish Orientalists may have been involved in this colonial effort, it was "important to note that our pretentious culture was unable under these circumstances to feature as many Spaniards with a knowledge of Arabic, as there are Moroccan Arabs who display a more

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renacimiento en los estudios arábigos, se encuentra ¡mal pecado! á consecuencia de las discordias civiles que han desgarrado su hermoso país, rezagada en el movimiento europeo, falta de este linaje de asociaciones garantidas y protegidas por los poderes públicos." Ibid., VIII.

[16]This was a reference to José Antonio Conde y García (1766–1820), author of the first complete history of Al-Andalus, *Historia de la dominacion de los Arabes en España, sacada de varios manuscritos y memorias arabigas, por el doctor Don José Antonio Conde* (Madrid, 1820-1821).

[17]". . . nuestros orientalistas experimenten la indiferencia ó el desden de sus compatriotas que han dejado morir á conde en le olvido y en ultimada pobreza. Llegando al extremo la postración de estas aficiones en nuestro país, que en época no muy lejana un distinguido orientalista español ha tenido que escribir en extraño suelo y en extranjera lengua para evitar el escollo, que ofrecen en nuestro país á esta clase de publicaciones, las malas pasiones ó la indiferente apatía." Fernández y González, *Plan de una biblioteca de autores árabes españoles*, xi.

or less imperfect knowledge of the Castilian language." In his opinion, this opportune context had also failed to bring about the appropriate "scientific advances in our society," as the "silence, indifference, obscurity and doubt upon consultation of the bibliographies and scholarship" revealed.[18]

Fernández y González thus came to view the revival of Orientalist studies in Spain as critical to Spain's national interests. This revival would specifically be achieved through the recovery of Spain's Jewish and Arab legacy and specifically that of what is commonly referred to as the 'Golden Age' of Al Andalus (roughly 900-1200). Fernández y González clearly considered this period the apex of Spanish civilization as he mused that "as an inhabitant of the Iberian Peninsula one would recall with pleasure the times when Frenchmen and Italians came to drink enlightenment and science in the schools of Andalucia."[19] Such nostalgic musing betrayed a more penetrating critique as Fernández y González contended that during the same period

> When barbarism overran the face of Europe…one searches in vain for signs of the flame of knowledge, which penetrated the crudeness of Gothic and Germanic society, and destroyed the power of physical force with gunpowder, opening routes in the seas with the compass, freeing the mind of Europe with paper, teaching free agriculture that honored the laborer, converting our countryside into orchards and gardens and making our cities admired through their exquisite architecture.[20]

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[18] ". . . preciso es confesar que nuestra pretenciosa cultura no ha podido presentar en estas circunstancias tantos españoles entendidos en la lengua árabe, como se encuentran árabes y marroquíes conocedores más ó menos imperfectos del idioma castellano y al consultar nuestras bibliografías sobre la elaboración científica que preparára [acento en original] estas metamórfosis [acento en original] de nuestra sociedad sólo encuentran silencio, indiferencia, oscuridad y duda." Ibid., xii-xiii.

[19] ". . . recordará con placer los tiempos en que franceses é italianos acudían á beber ilustración y ciencia en las escuelas de Andalucia." Ibid., x.

[20] "en aquella época que derramada la barbarie sobre la haz de la Europa…buscan en vano las huellas luminosas de aquel ardoroso fuego de saber, que penetró la ruda tosquedad de la sociedad gótica y germánica, y destruyó el poder de la fuerza física con la pólvora, y abrió rumbo cierto en los mares con la brújula, y prestó á la Europa el papel para que libertase la inteligencia, y ensayó la libre agricultura para honrar al labrador, y convirtió en vergeles nuestros campos é hizo admirar en nuestras ciudades su arquitectura primorosa." Ibid., xii-xiii.

He thus placed Spain in a privileged position over the rest of Europe in cultural terms vis a vis the glorified historical and cultural legacy of Al-Andalus. This vision of Spanish history also emphasized the degree to which every aspect of Spanish life and tradition has its roots in Muslim Spain, from "our ancient dress, the construction of our homes, the operation of our industry, our systems of weights and measurement…; our language with an eighth of its dictions encompassing objects pertaining to every walk of human life, from food stuffs to municipal administration…elegant and charming modes of speech, a rich syntax and a variety of conjugations and articles; our arithmetic, numbers, our literature and teaching and even metric combinations, a great number of villages and cities, a history ignored or a glory that is unrecognized."[21]

In addition to rescuing a historical legacy in cultural terms, restoring it to its proper place in Spanish history, Fernández y González also upheld the Spanish claim to the Muslim and Jewish legacy in cultural, linguistic and racial terms. He thus argued that this history penetrated every aspect of Spanish life, to a point that "Orientalism under its Hebrew and principally its Arabic form has penetrated the character of the Spanish people, leaving its faithful stamp imprinted on its grandiose history, its customs, its speech, and even in the elements of its bloodline."[22] Such a view moreover explicitly challenged prevalent notions of Iberian racial purity, particularly the centuries-old claims of the alleged purity of blood ("limpieza de sangre")

[21]"Nuestros trajes antiguos nacionales, la disposición de nuestras moradas, las operaciones de nuestra industria, nuestros sistemas de pesos y medidas, hasta los utensilios vulgares tienen una analogía sorprendente con los empleados por los árabes, semitas y bérberíes del otro lado del Estrecho; nuestro idioma tiene un octavo de sus dicciones que comprenden objetos referentes á todas las relaciones de la vida, desde la as materias de alimentos hasta la administración municipal, y nobilísimas familias españolas, Granadas, Benegas, Zegries, Mazas, Benjumeas, Benavides y Barruetas, vástagos son de ilustres gentes árabes, mogrebinas y africanas por cuyas venas corre la sangre de los antiguos sultanes de Granada, Córdoba y Sevilla, y de los príncipes berberíes de Al-Magreb." Ibid., ix.

[22]"El orientalismo bajo la forma hebrea y principalmente arábiga ha penetrado en el carácter del pueblo español, dejando impreso su sello con carácter fidelísimo en su grandiosa historia, en sus costumbres, en su habla y hasta en los elementos de su sangre." Ibid.

of "Old Christians," as Fernández y González suggested that even the most noble of Spanish families traced its roots back to Muslim Spain, for in "their veins runs the blood of the ancient sultans of Granada, Cordoba and Sevilla and of the Berber princes of the Maghreb." Fernández y González suggested that such historical racial kinship or "blood brotherhood" also served to connect Spain to contemporary North Africa as the Spanish cities of "Albacete, Játiva, Murcia, Toledo, Córdoba, Granada, Sevilla, Guadix, Almería, Madrid, Bajajoz, and even towns of less fame can enumerate a series of illustrious sons from the period under Arab rule, whose names even if forgotten today in their native soil are still heard in the schools of Damascus, Isphany, Basra, in the remote regions of the East, while many Spanish customs are analogous to those of the Arabs, Semites and Berbers across the Straits [of Gibraltar]."[23]

Within this far-reaching re-envisioning of Spain, the Muslim and even Jewish roots of Spain were prized and deemed superior over its western Greco-Roman ones for, Fernández y González would explain, "it was evident that for the peoples of Spain, Oriental classicism, that is the classic studies of Arabic and Hebrew, occupied a far superior place over that of classical Hellenism in literary investigations."[24] The reach and value of Arab letters thus replaced those traditionally granted those of ancient Greece and Rome, as they were stated to be "superior in their richness…duration and reach."[25] This classic Hispanic Orientalism also figured in privileging Spain in relation to Europe in cultural as well as racial terms, through Fernández y

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[23] "y nobilísimas familias españolas, Granadas, Benegas, Zegries, Mazas, Benjumeas, Benavides y Barruetas, vástagos son de ilustres gentes árabes, mogrebinas y africanas por cuyas venas corre la sangre de los antiguos sultanes de Granada, Córdoba y Sevilla, y de los príncipes berberíes de Al-Magreb...Albacete, Játiva, Murcia, Toledo, Córdoba, Granada, Sevilla, Guadix, Almería, Madrid, Bajajoz, hasta pueblos en menor fama cuentan con una serié de hijos ilustres bajo la época árabe, cuyos nombres si olvidados hoy en su suelo natal resuenan todavía en las escuelas de Damasco, Ispahany Basora, en las remotas regiones del Oriente." Ibid., x-xi.

[24]"Es evidente que para los pueblos de España el clasicismo oriental ó sean los estudios clásicos del árabe y del hebreo, ocupan un lugar muy superior al del helenismo clásico en las literarias indagaciones." Ibid., x.

[25]Ibid., 16-17.

González's subversion of what were traditionally thought to be classical Western European traditions, by claiming their "Semitic" roots. He thus traced the "spiritual background of the genius of chivalaresque literature" to "the Near East" for, "beneath the austere workings of Hebrew society one can see the Heroic sentiment of Joan of Arc in the biblical Judith." These roots were "equally present in the battles against the enemies of the Hebrews, such as the terrible giants [Goliath, e.g.], which plays such a large role in the battles of the middle ages."[26] In Spain, Fernández y González contended "the great works of astronomy and physics of Alfonso X could not be completed without the cooperation of Arab teachers and rabbis instructed in the schools of Al-Andalus" while he considered the Jewish scholar Moses Maimonides "a great philosopher of Al-Andalus."[27]

Fernández y González also argued that Spain's Jewish heritage shaped the country's national temperament, and especially its deep aversion to sectarianism. He contended that "the Spanish people is unique among all other European peoples in its purest conservation of the Oriental fervor of religious sentiment, with the energy of that of the sons of the patriarchs of the desert, and with the horror of the sons of Judea to the separations and divisions of modern Samarians."[28] Such claims suggest a notion of Iberian exceptionalism based on the 'universalist particularism' of Spain's Semitic roots; one which would come to characterize Fernández y

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[26]"fondo espiritual del genio de la caballería" to the "Oriente." For, "bajo la austere urdimbre de la sociedad hebrea se ve el sentido heroíco de Juana de Arco en Judit" "mostrándose igualmente en las batallas con los enemigos de los hebreos el terrorífico aparato de gigantes, que juega tanto papel en los combates de la edad media." Ibid., 18.

[27][l]os grandes trabajos astronómicos y físicos de Alfonso X, no fuéron llevados á cabo sin la cooperación de maestros árabes y rabinos instruidos en sus escuelas…"… Así perdió Al-Andalus bajo su reinado la presencia del gran filósofo Maimonides." (In context of describing the reign of the Almohads and writing about how many Jews and Christians were forced to convert to Islam under their rule) Ibid., 27, 45.

[28]"El pueblo español es único entre los pueblos europeos, que conserva con mayor pureza el fervor oriental del sentido religioso, con la energía de los hijos de los patriarcas del desierto, con el horror de los hijos de Judá á las separaciones y divisiones de las modernas Samarias." Ibid., ix.

González's view and rendering of Spain's Jewish past. He clearly understood the Jews as forming an integral part of the legacy of Muslim Spain, as he provides a portrait of a splendorous "Judeo-Islamic age";[29] one which also allows us a glimpse at his emergent Hebraism.

Fernández y González's Liberal Arabism, while ground-breaking and original for his time, was also in large part constructed in opposition to a Conservative Arabism. Fernández y González played an important role in shaping the debate over these opposing views in a public forum on 15 September, 1862, when charged with publicly responding to the acceptance speech of Javier Simonet for a chaired professorship in Arabic at the University of Granada.[30] Simonet, a devout Catholic and anti-Krausist Arabist, dedicated much of his career to demonstrating how any significant achievements from al-Andalus could be traced back to Christians or to Muslim converts of "strictly Spanish origin", while relegating the legacy of the Muslim Arabs of Al-Andalus to barbarism and intolerance.[31]

In his speech at the University of Granada, Simonet attempted to provide an appreciative though clearly patronizing (while at times outright racist) portrayal of Muslim al-Andalus. As Susan Martín-Márquez has noted, Fernández y González's response to Simonet (given his Liberal Krausist political and academic background) may perhaps be best read as ironic when he exclaimed that the occasion "we have witnessed before our eyes" is "worthy of distinguished consideration…" For, he proclaimed, the "elegy to the virtues of a race proscribed and relegated

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[29]Eminent twentieth-century Geniza scholar and historian Shlomo Goitein, came to refer to this period in the history of Muslim Spain and other parts of the Muslim caliphate, as the "Judeo-Islamic" age; a corrective to the commonly accepted concept of a centuries old uninterrupted Judeo-Christian tradition. See S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: their Contacts through the Ages* (New York, 1955).

[30] *Discursos leídos ante el claustro de la Universidad de Granada en el acto solemne de la recepción del Ido. D. Francisco Javier Simonet como catedrático numerario de lengua árabe en la facultad de filosofía y letras el día 15 de Septiembre de 1862* (Granada: Imprenta y librería de D. José M. Zamora, 1867), 131-132, and "Contestación por el Doctor D. Francisco Fernández y González" in *Discursos leídos*. . .

[31]On Simonet see Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs*, Manzanares de Cirre, *Arabistas españoles*, and Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations.*

for many years to the disdain of the victor, read from the Chair of a University, one founded in conflict with its culture", and moreover, "by a distinguished professor who along with his deep knowledge of the language of the Muslims displays fervent faith in the Catholic religion for which his ancestors fought, and a most benevolent charity, is the most irrefutable testimony to the superiority of the civilization we have achieved." [32] In the remainder of his response Fernández y González glossed over Simonet's theses and used the *Contestación* as a platform for presenting his ideas regarding the pre-eminence of Muslim Spain, and the importance of this history for developing Orientalist studies in Spain and fully understanding Spanish identity.

In a similar vein to his prologue of the *Plan,* Fernández y González maintained that the influence of the culture of the Muslims "who became naturalized over a period of eight centuries in the Peninsula," was so far reaching that it "changed the circumstances of the way of being of its inhabitants, influencing its customs, language, industry, commerce and even its devastating wars."[33] He moreover stated that the purpose of the study of Arabic in Spain was not "an objective element that was to be understood for the benefit of comparison as in the rest of Europe" but rather, evoking the notion of racial hybridity and blood brotherhood, one that was "interiorized even in the make up of our blood, it is the *Nosce ipsum* of the trial of the

[32]"No carece de importancia, por tanto, fenómeno es digno de elevada consideración el que ha tenido lugar en este momento á nuestros ojos; el elogio de los merecimientos de una raza proscrita y relegada por largos años al desprecio del vencedor leído desde la cátedra de una Universidad, fundada en oposición á su cultura, por un profesor esclarecido que junta á conocimientos profundísimos en la lengua de los musulmanes, ferviente fé en la religión cristiana porque combatieron sus mayores y una caridad benevolentísima, testimonio es irrecusable de la superioridad de la civilización que alcanzamos." "Contestación por el Doctor D. Francisco Fernández y González" in *Discursos leídos ante el claustro de la Universidad de Granada en el acto solemne de la recepción del Ido. D. Francisco Javier Simonet como catedrático numerario de lengua árabe en la facultad de filosofía y letras el día 15 de Septiembre de 1862* (Granada, 1867), 134.

[33]"la cultura de un pueblo, que naturalizado por espacio de ocho siglos en la Península, cambió las circunstancias del modo de ser de sus habitantes, influyendo con sus usos, su habla, su industria, su comercio y hasta con sus guerras desoladoras." Ibid., 131.

vicissitudes of our race."[34] He further reminded his audience that "we should not forget that while the Gauls lived in forests, and the Picto and the Breton had yet to have reached the coasts, the ancient African civilization which dominated the southern part of the Peninsula, could compete with Greek civilization which in itself originated in Egypt." In his resounding conclusion Fernández y González emphasized the genetic antiquity and therefore superiority of Spain due to its "Semitic" past: "Spaniards, united through their Semitic and African heritage to the most ancient branches of human lineage, we can indicate to our neighbors who presume greater cultural accomplishments: Peoples of the North, you are children who know nothing more than that of today and yesterday: our history is ancient, our literature immense, multiple in languages, monumental and archeological, our culture is full of splendors which at one time shined with more brilliance than your current splendors."[35]

While the strains of Arabism represented by Fernández y González and Simonet won over their adherents, and would be perpetuated in more attenuated forms, within Spanish academic circles the work and views of Fernández y González earned him prominent positions and a respect which Simonet never experienced. Having served as a chaired professor of Rhetoric and Poetry at the Noviciado Institute (which subsequently became the Cardenal Cisneros Institute) between 1852 and 1853, Fernández y González subsequently became a chaired professor of the distinguished Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the Universidad

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[34]"no es un elemento objetivo que debe atenderse como en Europa en beneficio de la comparación; interiorizado hasta en los elementos de nuestra sangre es el *nosce te ipsum* del exámen de las vicisitudes de nuestra raza." Ibid.

[35]"No olvidemos que cuando los Galos vivían en bosques y el Picto y el Breton apenas se arriesgaban en las costas, la civilización antigua africana, que dominaba en el mediodía de la Península, podía competir con la griega, que á su vez procedía del Egipto…Unidos los Españoles por su elemento semítico y africano á las primogénitas ramas del humano linaje, podemos argüir á nuestros vecinos que presuman de mas merecimientos en cultura: 'Pueblos de Septentrión, sois unos niños que no sabéis mas que lo de hoy y lo de ayer: nuestra historia es antigua, nuestra literatura inmensa, múltiple en idiomas, monumental y arqueológica, nuestra cultura está llena de esplendores, que lucieron un día con mas brillo que vuestros esplendores actuales." Ibid., 137.

Central of Madrid and later became its dean. His research soon came to the attention of the Real Academia de la Historia which awarded him a prize as part of a public contest it sponsored for his work on the Mudejars of Castille in 1866.[36]

In the same year, this recognition by the RAH materialized into his election as a Numerary Academic at the RAH, a position he officially assumed the following year.[37] Fernández y González quickly became very well regarded at the RAH and was also a fellow of the Real Academia Española and the Academy of Fine arts, while he came to author countless works in areas as diverse as aesthetics, literary criticism, humanism at the Spanish university, legal studies, Orientalist topics including translations from the Arabic and English.[38] Nonetheless, while Simonet may not have earned the same respect from of his academic colleagues, his writings ultimately reached a wider audience, also illustrating an important type of discourse regarding Iberian purity with regard to the legacy of Muslim Spain and medieval convivencia, which would be further elaborated by the end of the nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century.[39]

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[36]Francisco Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los Mudéjares de Castilla: considerados en sí mismos y respecto de la civilizacion española* (Madrid, 1866).

[37]He was nominated to assume the position of académico de número (vacated by the primer Marqués de Pidal in December of 1865) on 23 November 1866 by académicos Quadrado, Sabau, Caveda and his mentor, Arabist Pascual Gayangos. He was elected on December 14th and assumed his position in November of 1867.

[38]For example, *Influencia del sentimiento de los bello como elemento educador en la historia humana* (Granada, 1856); "La escultura y la pintura en los pueblos de raza semítica," *Revista de España* 23 (1871): 48-67; Francisco Fernández y González and Pedro de Madrazo, *Influencia de lo real y lo ideal en el arte: discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* (Madrid 1881); "Berceo ó el poeta sagrado en la España cristiana del siglo XIII," *La Razón* 1 (1860): 222-235, 306-322, and 393-403; *"Plan de una biblioteca de autores árabes españoles;" Historia de la crítica literaria desde Luzan hasta nuestros días* (Madrid, 1867)—Fernández y González was granted a prize for this work by the Real Academia in 1867; Francisco Fernández y González trans., Aben Adharí de Marruecos, *Historias de Al-Andalus por Aben Adharí de Marruecos* (Granada, 1862)*;* "De los moriscos que quedaron en España después de la expulsión decretada por Felipe III," *Revista de España* 19 (1871): 103-14, among many others.

[39]See Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations*, 33; Bernabé López García, "Orientalismo y traducción en los orígenes del arabismo moderno en España," Gonzalo Fernández Parrilla and Manuel C. Feria García, eds., *Orientalism, exotismo y traducción* (Cuenca, 2000), 153-171; and Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs*.

While much of the national debate over Iberian hybridity remained confined to discussion of Muslim Spain, Franciso Fernández y González extended the reach of these theories to Spain's Jewish past. His emergent interest in Spain's Jewish past, which had initially formed part of his Arabism, would moreover soon become the primary focus of his work. Fernández y González's works on Sephardic history make clear the appeal of elaborating the place of the Jews and Jewish history within the framework of Iberian hybridity, and its evolution from its point of departure within Arabism. His writings on the topic emphasize the genetic antiquity of Iberian Jewry, positing the Jews as Spain's (and Europe's) most ancient, primordial citizens. In this context, Fernández y González's Jewish exceptionalism supported and validated Iberian exeptionalism. These claims of Jewish-Iberian antiquity moreover, appear to serve as a bridge between early Near Eastern 'Semitism' and early Christianity, as well as the 'Semitism' of Muslim Spain and the collective manifestation of this cultural-religious layering in Christian medieval and modern Spain.

II. *Orientalismo Hebraico*

In 1881 Fernández y González's published an ambitious study of the juridicial institutions of the Jews throughout their history in the Iberian Peninsula (*Instituciones jurídicas del pueblo de Israel en los diferentes estados de la península ibérica: desde su dispersión en tiempo del Emperador Adriano hasta los principios del siglo XVI*).[40] The monograph, which formed part of series of juridical history included works by authors of the stature of the Regenerationist reformer Joaquín Costa and the founder and spiritual leader of the Liberal

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[40]Francisco Fernández y González, *Instituciones jurídicas del pueblo de Israel en los diferentes estados de la península ibérica: desde su dispersión en tiempo del Emperador Adriano hasta los principios del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1881).

Krausist *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* Francisco Giner de los Ríos, established Fernández y González as a serious scholar of Spain's Jewish past.[41] Moreover, the inclusion of a history of the Jews in this series suggests the growing importance granted to the history of the Jews of Spain, as well as Fernández y González's standing among Spain's luminaries of the period.

In the study, Fernández y González presents Jewish law and society as the foundation of modern 'Western' civilization, serving as a light unto other nations. Among the nations, the Jewish people, along with the Romans, according to Fernández y González, possessed superior juridical institutions which allowed them to "exercise powerful and legitimate influence in the organization of the family and human society."[42] Fernández y González thus ascribed universalist importance to this conceptualization of Jewish exceptionalism, as he indicated that he hoped the study would prove useful to all legal scholars whose research is focused on the areas of the history of law and comparative legislation.[43] Fernández y González came to embrace this view of Jewish universalist particularism in his writings on the Jewish past, as it served as a buttress or adjunct to his notion of Iberian exceptionalism and particularly that of Christian Spain.

In *Instituciones jurídicas*, the conceptualization of Jewish exceptionalism would take on a secular providential form that bespoke of Fernández y González's Liberal Krausist and *institucionalista* (a reference to the Krausist Instituto Libre de Enseñanza) background, while it was also couched in deterministic biological and racialist language. Fernández y González

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[41] Joaquín Costa, *Teoría del hecho jurídico individual y social* (Madrid, 1880).

[42] "En el discurso de las edades históricos parecen aventajados entre las demás naciones, por lo que toca á las instituciones jurídicas, dos pueblos que ejercen poderosa y legítima influencia en la organización de la familia y de la sociedad humana; el de Israel y el de Roma." Fernández y González, *Instituciones jurídicas*, 1.

[43] "En tal supuesto y con el propósito de que nuestra obra preste algún servicio á los jurisconsultos, que dirigen sus investigaciones en la esfera del derecho histórico y de la legislación comparada…" *Instituciones jurídicas*, 341.

rooted this deterministic and biological providentialism in Jewish history, a history he understood as prefigured by destiny, beginning with the Egyptian exile which he viewed as a major source of the strength of the Jewish people. Rather than being a backwards nation or race, it was their contact with the Egyptians, "the most enlightened people in antiquity," which he argued privileged them culturally over other nations. Moreover, it was during the Babylonian exile, "that period of deplorable servitude," that Fernández y González contended that "their spirit, tested by adversity, invigorated by hardships, and fortified by resignation, unfolded resources of ingenious inventiveness, at times manifesting itself as intrepid and adventurous, while not excluding the practical and positive aspect of trade."[44] Jewish affliction and persecution thus took on a providential nature in Fernández y González's rendering of the Jewish past. Unlike his father-in-law Amador de los Rios' clearly religiously Catholic redemptive interpretation of Sephardic destiny, for Fernández y González the providential took on a more secular guise.

In his brief discussion of the Jews in Muslim Spain, Fernández y González built on his Arabism and budding Hebraism, as well as the Wissenschaft scholars' narrative of the flowering of Hebrew letters, to emphasize the great extent of interface and exchange between Judaism and Islam.[45] Another popular topic he addressed were the accusations Spanish historians traditionally had made about an alleged Jewish conspiracy with the Muslims to facilitate the conquest of 711. Fernández y González demonstrates a familiarity with the sources on the topic and a dedication to objectivity and evidence in his interpretation. He explains that Spanish

[44]"el pueblo más ilustrado del antigüedad"; "Durante el tiempo de aquella deplorable servidumbre, su espíritu, probado en la adversidad, avigorado con las dificultades, y fortalecido con la resignación, desplegó recursos de ingeniosa inventiva, mostrándose a las veces atrevido y aventurero, sin excluir el lado práctico y positivo de los negocios." Ibid., 3-4.

[45]On this topic he cites Abraham Geiger's "excelente, aunque ya anticuado librito impreso en 1883 *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum genommen*?" Ibid., 36.

historians had not questioned the *Tomo regió* read at the XVII Council of Toledo which accused the Jews of "conspiring with other overseas regions," thus "tainting the tunic of the faith in which the Mother Church had cloaked them with baptismal waters," and for having "malevolently caused the ruin of the patria and the entire world, wishing to usurp the supreme authority of the nation." Moreover, these authors, contended Fernández y González, interpreted the *Tomo* as referring to an alleged conspiracy with the Jews of North Africa in order to either "take power of the kingdom of Spain or hand it over to the Sarracens."[46] While such a scenario was not entirely "improbable" Fernández y González also indicated that it "was no less true", as the "illustrious D. José Amador de los Ríos observed, that neither the king nor the Fathers of the Council clearly understood the origin of the threat."[47] In keeping with Amador de los Rios' stated approach, Fernández y González opted for an emphasis on historical objectivity in the face of ungrounded myths and rumors.

Despite his expertise in Muslim Spain, however, Fernández y González dedicated most of the study to discussion of the Jews in Christian Spain. Through the lens of legal history, Fernández y González centered this discussion on the question of historical tolerance and intolerance of the Jews, ultimately portraying a vision of a relatively peaceful "convivencia" under Christian rule which emphasized Jewish ascendancy. The shift from Arabism to Hebraism would thus allow him to apply his earlier ideas (rooted in Iberian hybridity) about Muslim Spain

[46]"donde acusándolos de conspirar con el acuerdo de los de otras regiones trasmarinas…El Concilio, después de declarar de que los judíos habían manchado la túnica de la fé que les vistiera la Santa Madre Iglesia con los aguas del bautismo, y habían intentado malvadamente causar la ruina de la patria y del mundo entero, queriendo usurpar para sí el poderío supremo de la nación, dictaba leyes que aventajaron en dureza á las promulgadas hasta entonces…" Ibid., 31

[47]"dan por sentada y explican el sentido de estas palabras refiriéndola á una inteligencia con los judíos de África para apoderarse del reino de España ó entregarlo á los sarracenos: y aunque no sea improbable semejante suposición, no es menos cierto que según observa el ilustrado D. José Amador de los Ríos (Historia crítica de los judíos, t.I, p. 101, nota), ni el rey ni los PP. Del Concilio dieron á conocer claramente de donde venia el peligro." Ibid., 31.

to Christian Spain in an attempt to redeem Spanish history from depictions of unbridled fanaticism.

Rather than being driven by a wish to justify or apologize for Jewish persecution or condemn it, Francisco Fernández y González thus developed a perspective and narrative of the Jewish past in Spain similar to and clearly in dialogue with the perspective of the Jewish Wissenschaft de Judentums scholars, with whose work he was quite familiar and upon which he drew quite extensively. This narrative mitigated the degree of persecution Jews suffered and emphasized their cultural efflorescence, autonomy and relatively peaceful coexistence or convivencia with Christians. While the Wissenschaft scholars created an idealized narrative of "Sephardic ascendancy" and "mystique" in the context of vying for assimilation into German society, Fernández y González's interpretation appeared to be driven by factors particular to his Spanish context. This context was shaped by his theories on the benefits of Iberian hybridity, understood as cultural cooperation, exchange and interpenetration, to contemporary Spain. What the two contexts shared was the idea of Sephardic exceptionalism in cultural and even racial terms.

In discussing the Visigothic period (after the Visigoths' conversion to Catholicism in 586 and before the Muslim arrival in 711), notorious for its anti-Jewish legislation, Fernández y González argued that Visigothic legislation regarding the Jews had a great deal of influence on Jewish life in the Peninsula, as well as on later legislation directed at the Jews promulgated in the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. In evaluating the legitimacy of such legislation, Fernández y González acknowledged the severity of some of these laws directed against the Jews, claiming they were beyond any justification. He claimed that "in vain could one actually try to apologize" for what he understood as the "ardor of the religious zealotry and the barbarity

of the age, patented by the theological doctrines of Saint Gregorio, Saint Isidoro and the fathers who attended the IV Toledan Council."[48] Such a critique exposes Fernández y González's Liberal anti-clericalism; it represented a direct denunciation of the early Hispanic Church Fathers.

Nonetheless, Fernandez y Gonzalez contended that Spanish, as well as Jewish authors had often exaggerated the degree of persecution the Jews suffered under Visigothic rule as anti-Jewish legislation measures often remained unenforced. Drawing on both Jewish and Spanish sources, he illustrated how it was precisely the repeated attempts over the course of many years to enforce anti-Jewish legislation and forced baptism in Visigothic Spain which served as proof of how "these proscriptions were not completely observed." By calling attention to this factor Fernández y González suggest that Spanish Jews fared relatively well even during this period of heightened legal restrictions on Jewish life.[49] Fernández y González thus concluded that in spite of such harsh laws, "the Jews, maltreated and afflicted by fate, with good fortune persisted in Spain."[50] Not only did they persist, he insisted, but they flourished, as he described how they established neighborhoods, cultivated the land, manufactured textiles, were employed by magnates and bishops in the administration of their properties and participated in important ways

[48]"Al contemplar la sin igual dureza de algunas de estas disposiciones penales prodigada con verdaderas intemperancia…en vano se propondrá plena disculpa en el ardor del celo religioso y en la barbarie de la edad, patentizado por la doctrina teológica de un san Gregorio, un San Isidoro, y los padres que concurren al IV Concilio Nacional Toledano, que el error no alcanzaba las proporciones de una equivocación general, que privase de toda responsabilidad al que incurría en ella." Ibid., 33.

[49] S. P. Scott, *The Visigothic Code: (Forum Judicum)* (Ithaca, 2009).

[50]"Que estas prescripciones no se observaban por complete, y que á pesar de ellas los judíos, maltratados y afligidos de muchas suertes, persistían, sin embargo, en España, lo muestran las repetidas disposiciones encaminadas a reprimirlos que promulgó Recesvinto, catorce años mas adelante." Fernández y González, *Instituciones jurídicasa*, 22. Among the authors and works he draws upon are Isaac Cardoso, Uriel Da Costa, Henreich Graetz, Amador de los Ríos and Juan de Mariana.

in the mercantile affairs of the kingdoms.[51] Such an interpretation of the sources emphasized the exceptionality of Jewish resilience and ingenuity in the face of repeated attempts to suppress them. It highlighted their successful integration into Spanish society, while serving as testament to the exceptionalism of an Iberian context which allowed for Jewish social and economic mobility.

In discussing Christian Spain after the Muslim conquest, Fernández y González focused on Jewish juridical institutions and Jewish legal status from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries. He characterized this period as a time of privileges and protection for the Jews. This characterization is largely based on Fernández y González's close reading of the *fueros* (medieval charters of local privileges), as he notes that all the fueros—documents that were viewed as foundational for Spanish history—from this period granted privileges to the Jews.[52] Moreover, he notes that during this period the Jews played a large role in the formation of cultural centers such as Toledo, "from where the enlightenment spread throughout the rest of Europe," through their active participation in court culture, whether serving as translators or advisors.[53] Protection and privileges, according to Fernández y González, thus allowed the Jews to contribute to Spain's growth and influence beyond its borders, and positioned them as central actors in the unfolding of the nation's history.

Fernández y González's attempts to portray a relatively peaceful convivencia and uphold tolerance as a Spanish virtue, in the main centered on the relationship of the Jews with the

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[51]Ibid., 33.

[52]Fernández y González extended this discussion to Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia. In Navarre he notes several rulers, but distinguishes the reign of Sancho el Fuerte (1194-1234) as the "golden age of the Jews of Navarre."

[53]"tuvieron no pequeña parte en el vigoroso centro de cultura que se formó en Toledo en el siglo XII…de donde se difundió la ilustración por el resto de Europa." Ibid., 69.

Spanish rulers, and by extension, the importance of the rule of law. Focus on this "royal alliance" moreover allowed Fernández y González to salvage the legacy of certain Spanish monarchs, in similar fashion to Amador de los Ríos' attempt to salvage the legacy of Alfonso X.[54] In Castile, Fernández y González contended, the "glorious monarch" Fernando II "el Santo" continued the tradition of his grandfather Alfonso VIII, who "far from demonstrating the ruthless intolerance which some writers have attributed to him, signaled his resolution to equitably defend the Jewish vassals." Moreover, he described Fernando II's generosity in granting the Jews living areas and synagogues in a "reconquered" Sevilla.

Fernández y González portrayed this relationship as a reciprocal one, as he included evidence of the loyalty of Jewish subjects to their Spanish rulers. He described the Jews of Toledo, who, in what he perceived as a gesture of gratitude, "came out to receive the victor of the battle of Las Navas"—a reference to Alfonso and the famed reconquista battle of las Navas de Tolosa of 1212—"with extraordinary jubilation."[55] Providing further proof from Jewish sources of the period, such as the poetry of a Jewish courtier composed in honor of Don Alfonso VIII, Fernández y González explains how such verses "announce the profound satisfaction of the Jewish people with the protection he showed them, which are certainly the expression of sincere sentiment . . . The Court of Alfonso does not age, the days passed in it are like wedding days . . . remove your sandals as a sign respect for his land, because it is the seat of the spirit of

[54] The concept of the "royal alliance" which illuminates the Jews' historical formation of vertical, rather than horizontal alliances with their non-Jewish compatriots, was first studied by historian Salo Wittamayer Baron and further elaborated by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi. See for example, Y.H. Yerushalmi, *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the Shebet Yehudah* (Cincinnati, 1976).

[55] Agradecidos los judíos toledanos, salían poco después á recibir con extraordinario júbilo al vencedor de las Navas…" Ibid., 77

sanctity."[56] Thus, while the Jew were portrayed as faithful, law-abiding subjects, this depiction was also meant to further validate the idea of Spanish tolerance and enlightened legal and moral comportment, during what Fernández y González often referred to as a period of ignorance and despotism in the rest of Christian Europe.[57]

For Fernández y González the treatment of Jews in the Middle Ages, measured in legal terms, would indeed come to serve as a litmus test regarding tolerance and degree of 'civilization.' Fernández y González stressed the legal protection the Jews enjoyed from the Christian rulers and nobility, attempting to cast Spanish behavior with regard to the Jews in a favorable light when compared to the rest of Europe. Drawing on contemporary Christian chronicles from the period of the Crusades, and the work of Amador de los Rios and Heinrich Graetz, he thus interpreted anti-Jewish violence as originating outside the peninsula's borders, particularly in France, as in his discussion of anti-Jewish violence in Navarre and Aragon.[58] Fernández y González moreover attributed such violence to poor ruling, anarchy and disorder, all of which he also attempts to deflect from Spain by tracing its origin to alliances made with France. In this context he writes of the "Toledan noblemen" who, moved by "their compassion for their Israelite neighbors, as much as by their anger over the unruly behavior of those seditious folk"— referring to the French crusaders—"armed themselves in order to defend the Jews and

[56]"Los versos que compuso á don Alfonso anuncian profunda satisfacción del pueblo judío por la protección que le dispensaba, si ciertamente son la expresión de un sentimiento sincero. Dicen de esta suerte: "La Corte de Alfonso no envejece, los días pasados en ella son días de boda…Quitate las sandalias en señal de respeto de su tierra, porque ella es el asiento del espíritu de santidad." Ibid., 84, note 3. The author of the verses is cited by Fernández y González as Ibrahim Bin-Al Fajr (Hayocer).

[57]While he focuses on the violence of French Crusades, Fernández y González mentions the violence of Aragonese troops against the Jews in a footnote. Ibid., 76 note 3.

[58]See Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence,* which makes the case for French influence on Jewish persecution in the Crown of Aragon during the fourteenth century.

contain their demands."[59] Moreover, evoking the "derecho de gentes", the legal prescription of Roman origin applied to the rights of non citizens and in the Middle Ages to non-Christians, he explains that King Alfonso VIII "preferred to be forsaken by [the French crusaders] than to commit such an attack against the 'derecho de gentes.'"[60] He portrayed Spanish kingdoms, kings and noblemen as bound by the highest level of law and order, thus fostering tolerance and an admirable state of inter-faith convivencia.

Fernández y González's portrayal of an admirable Jewish-Christian royal alliance, however, was not without ambivalence and criticism. In addressing the domestic motivations of anti-Jewish violence Fernández y González placed a great deal of emphasis on the role of the authorities rather than that of the populace in breaching law and order. Indeed what he appears to find most troubling is the disregard for law and order demonstrated not by the populace, but by Spain's rulers. For instance, he attributes the maltreatment of Jews by Alfonso IV of Aragon (1299-1336) to the king's poor ruling and weakness of character.[61] In discussing persecution of Jews and conversos in the fifteenth-century he makes this sentiment most clear:

> But what most saddens the spirit in recalling these events is not, in reality, the consideration of the terrible effects of seriously deranged popular passions. Rather, what leaves a much more painful impression, is witnessing the monarch charged with attending to the security of his subjects allowing with impunity so much murder and so much disrespectful disregard of the authority of the laws.[62]

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[59]"movidos los caballeros toledanos, así de compasión por sus convecinos israelitas, como de enojo por la descortés conducta de aquella gente sediciosa, se armaron para salir al amparo de los judíos y contuvieron sus desmanes." Fernández y González, *Instituciones jurídicas*, 77.

[60]"prefirió verse desamparado por ellos á cometer aquel atentado contra el derecho de gentes" Ibid., 77.

[61]"fué harto desigual en su conducta hacia los hebreos, á efecto sin duda de reprensible debilidad de carácter que testificó toda su vida." Ibid., 134. Citation based on a document from the *Archivo de Aragón* and Girbal's *Los Judíos en Gerona* (1870).

[62]"Pero los que más entristece el ánimo al recordar estos acontecimientos, no es, en verdad la consideración de los efectos terribles de la pasión popular gravemente desbordada, labrando en el ánimo impresión mucho más dolorosa ver que el monarca encargado de atender á la seguridad de sus súbditos dejase impune tanto asesinato y tanto irrespetuoso menosprecio de la autoridad y de las leyes." Fernández y González, *Instituciones jurídicas*, 304.

This statement indicates Fernández y González's understanding that Jews were subjects whose safety should have been guaranteed by the laws of the kingdom, and that Alfonso IV thus had committed an egregious violation of this long-standing tradition of legal protection and thereby of the law and order of the kingdom. This emphasis on the role of royal authorities in maintaining law and order may be read in several different ways. Perhaps Fernández y González viewed this issue through the filter of Cánovas y Castillo's understanding of the nation, which stood in direct opposition to Renan's "every day plebiscite." Perhaps he also was offering a subtle critique of the Restoration government's failure to contain contemporary unrest and disorder due to its super-legal rule through political favoritism, corruption and caciquismo.

In discussing the massacres and forced conversions of 1391, Fernández y González on the surface appears to concur with Amador de los Ríos' benevolent portrayal of Fray Vicente Ferrer. Describing him as "endowed with a noble exterior and an unwavering will, rare eloquence, an evangelical devotion and exceedingly admirable", Fernández y González states that Ferrer had "captivated through his irreprehensible manners the love of the people and the respect of the nobility."[63] Nonetheless, unlike his colleagues, Fernández y González does not claim Vicente Ferrer only baptized the Jews with their consent, but rather indicates that in fact they had no choice in the matter, especially given the grim circumstances and attacks of the mobs. He moreover interprets the preaching of Vicente Ferrer as bringing about the end of the Jewish community of Castile and eventually of Aragon. In this portrayal he appears to suggest the dangers of religious zealotry and religious coercion (regardless of the noble motives of the

[63]**"**Dotado de noble exterior y de voluntad inquebrantable, de facundia poco vulgar y de unción evangélica sobremanera admirable…se había captado Vicente Ferrer…de irreprensibles costumbres, el amor del pueblo y el respeto de la nobleza." Ibid., 274.

individual preaching such ideas), issues which he witnessed firsthand in his own time over the struggle for libertad de cultos and the second Carlist war.

Further evidence of Fernández y González's emphasis on the importance of maintaining law and order above anything else may be found in his writing about the Spanish Inquisition. Contrary to what one might anticipate from a Liberal Krausist, Fernández y González considered the Inquisition as a legitimate governing institution which helped establish law and order. He argued that while the early stages of the Inquisition may have been chaotic and arbitrary, once the Catholic Kings created the Supreme Council of the Inquisition (*El Consejo Supremo de la Inquisición*) it became legally sound "with absolute discretion in its instruction and evidence, including the name of the witnesses and accusers, and even in the sentencing."[64] Moreover he considered the institution of the Inquisition as an "infallible corrective against heresy and impunity" as well as an "efficient element of political governance."[65] In writing about Queen Isabel's role in establishing the Inquisition Fernández y González characterized her as "possessing a generosity of spirit and inclined to gentle procedures…"[66] While such a benign portrayal of the Inquisition and Queen Isabel by a Krausist Liberal may at first appear paradoxical, perhaps it may be best understood as a deliberate effort on Fernández y González's part to refute the allegations of the black legend in the service of his attempt to promote a vision of a more tolerant, enlightened Spain. Furthermore, such an effort may be perhaps also viewed as symptomatic of the desire for law and order, and a strong and efficient centralized state, an

[64]"Desde aquel punto cambió la primitiva organización del tribunal…se establecía un tribunal…con sigilo absoluta en la instrucción y probanzas, incluso el nombre de los testigos y delatores y hasta el fallo de las causas." Ibid., 318.

[65]"considerado por el espacio de tres siglos cual reparo infalible contra la herejía e impiedad, y como eficaz elemento de gobernación política." Ibid., 315.

[66]"Llevada la Reina de la generosidad de su ánimo, e inclinada a procedimientos de dulzura…" Ibid., 316.

expression which could either be viewed as an homage to the Restoration government or critique of it, during what was a time of heightened political instability. Finally, such a portrayal is testament to Fernández y González's resolve to remain objective in writing on a topic that had long stirred passions on all fronts.

The manner in which Fernández y González depicted the conversos in his narrative is also unexpected. He displays notable disdain for conversos accused of allegedly attacking the Inquisition, referring to them as "wretched" and emphasizes their wealth and greed. In discussing the famous case of the alleged murder of the inquisitor Pedro de Arubés by conversos he remarks that the conversos had formed a "sinister conspiracy."[67] Here, despite his idiosyncratic perspectives on Spain's Jews, Fernández y González confirmed negative views of the conversos that were typical among Spanish scholars. Perhaps this view is best explained by Fernández y González's resolute commitment to law and order as an element of political and moral stability. After all, the convoluted identity of the conversos may have seemed to pose a threat to both normative Christianity and Judaism, rather than solving the imagined problem of national unity. Unlike the Jews, whose place was well defined in legal and social terms during their tenure in the Iberian Peninsula, the conversos now occupied a liminal place outside the boundaries of the medieval writs of protection of the Jews, which exposed them to additional suspicion and hostility. The transgression of this well defined legal category may have thus eluded Fernández y González's willingness to break with historiographical tradition in this case.

At the same time, however, Fernández y González also made use of the medieval Spanish sources in Castilian to dismantle a widespread pernicious belief about the Jews. He gingerly

[67]"ocasionando mordaz diatriba de parte de un converso, quien después de atacar horriblemente el catolicismo y su culto, pasaba a censura el despotismo de los Reyes…" Ibid., 316. "desgraciados" In this case he cites the *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos* (Bernaldez) and the work of Amador de los Rios. "una conspiracino tenebrosa." Ibid., 319.

revised what he considered the unjust historical portrayal of the charged topic of Jewish money lending, an idea with obvious pan-European implications, by basing much of his argument on his reading of the *Fuero Viejo*, which delineated the way Jewish money lending operated. He contended that the portrayals claiming that the "interest the Jews demanded or the profit they made was always unjust" were entirely uninformed by the economic conditions of the times. He illustrated the economic situation, explaining how the legal difficulties Jews faced in acquiring and maintaining other forms of property made money lending a convenient niche for them. In addition to elucidating the origins of this characterization of the Jews, he explained its sinister implications, as he writes that it had "predisposed them over the course of the times to lamentable abuses" which "in the long run brought about bloody vengeance and reprisals against them."[68] Such an interpretation was certainly unique for a non-Jewish author of his time. If according to Fernández y González the Jews had essentially been the first Spaniards and represented the origins of 'Western civilization,' perhaps only by clearing their historical record throughout the European continent could he vindicate the place he accorded to the Jews in the Spanish patria.

Fernández y González's discussion of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain indicates the difficulties this topic posed for him. He essentially provided a concise description of the edict of expulsion and what it entailed without further elaboration or analysis regarding its legitimacy or

[68]"Generalmente se advierte alguna exageración en las apreciaciones históricas, acerca de la índole correspondiente al comercio del dinero, según los practicaban los judíos en la Edad Media…Partiendo de errores económicos que pretenden igualar el valor del metálico al contado con el signo de su valor á larga fecha, se ha pretendido que el interés ó logro que exigían era siempre injusto, como no representase capital susceptible de aumento o de conveniente y ventajosa aplicación, en términos semejantes á los que puede ofrecer otra cualquier mercadería…Mas, dejadas aparte semejantes apreciaciones extremas, es indudable que la preferencia que dieron los hebreos á un comercio, á que les inclinaba grandemente así la dificultad de adquirir y conservar propiedades de otro órden, como la facilidad que tenían de utilizar por este medio en su ventaja hábitos de disipación, considerados á las veces como grandeza y liberalidades entre los magnates de Castilla, debieron predisponerles en el discurso de los tiempos á lamentables abusos que traían á la larga, desquites y represalias sangrientas." Ibid., 78-79.

its causes. Nor did he offer any of the passionate justifications or apologies (or the combination of the two) so typical of much of previous Spanish historiography on this subject. The one historiographical issue he makes note of in this context is whether the decision to expel the Jews was influenced by what he described as the "horrible infanticide of the niño de la Guardia." He explained that he did not consider this an appropriate occasion to discuss this topic, while gingerly suggesting without further elaboration that the decision probably took place prior to the incident.[69] In considering Fernández y González's deep and engaged concern with Iberian legal history and prior protections and violations of the rights of Spanish Jewry, the absence of such commentary would on the surface appear perplexing. Perhaps such reticence should come as no surprise, however, as the shattering of convivencia and the attendant religious fanaticism that the Expulsion spelled for the Iberian Peninsula presented factors which clearly did not fit in as neatly into Fernández y González's theories on Iberian tolerance and hybridity.

Nonetheless, Fernández y González seems to articulate a clear understanding of the great tragedy that the expulsion presented for Spanish Jewry, at least as Jews. This understanding is largely informed by his reading of the Jewish sources, encompassing both accounts by fifteenth and sixteenth century Sephardic writers such as Ibn Verga and Samuel Usque as well as by the European Jewish scholars of his own time.[70] In fact, in describing the meaning of the Expulsion for Spanish Jewry he reiterated the words of a modern Jewish historian stating that "since the times of Titus and Adrian Israel had not experienced such calamity that perturbed the spirit of its

[69]**"**No es ocasión de discutir, si influyó en sus resoluciones, como se ha supuesto, el horrible infanticidio del niño de la Guardia…" Ibid., 324.

[70]Ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehuda* (Amsterdam, 1680); Samuel Usque, *Consolaçam ás tribulaçoens de Israel* (Ferrera, 1553). The reference here is to the *Wissenchaft des Judentums* scholars.

sons, such as the dispersion of the Jews expelled from Spanish dominions."[71] He even compared the expelled Jews to the "Greek masters" after the fall of Constantinople in reference to the diffusion of Hebrew letters as a product of the dispersion.

While Fernández y González may have refrained from considering what the expulsion may have meant for Spain, he did however consider the Spanish identity of Sephardim. He referred to the exiled Jews as "Judíos de patria española" ("Jews of the Spanish patria") a term that would later be embraced and made use of in the philosephardist campaigns, and wrote that the scholarship they produced in exile was 'Spanish' in nature.[72] He singled out the writings of Ibn Verga and Samuel Usque, to whom he referred as "distinguished historians," and whom he claimed contributed a great deal to the writing of the history of the "Sephardim or Spanish Jews."[73] It thus appeared that for Fernández y González, reconstructing the history of the Jews' tenure in the Iberian Peninsula and what he considered their many contributions during this period served his efforts of promoting a vision of a racially hybrid, tolerant and dynamic Spain. In contrast, the expulsion of 1492 presented a point of departure from this narrative, with which he chose to not engage too deeply.

Fernández y González would demonstrate an even deeper engagement with the Jewish past, however, through his own translation and commentary on critical Jewish primary sources. In 1885, Fernández y González published the first excerpts of his annotated translation of what is

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[71]"Desde los tiempos de Tito y Adriano no había experimentado Israel calamidad, que conturbase el animo de sus hijos, como la dispersión de los hebreos expulsados de los dominios españoles." Fernández y González, *Instituciones jurídicas*, 335. Fernández y González aknowledged that the Hungarian -Jewish scholar Salomon Löwisohn (*Vorlesungen über die neure Geschichte der Juden*, Vienna, 1820) had appraised the Expulsion in these terms (335, note 3).

[72]Fernández y González, *Instituciones jurídicas*, 336-340. The term "Jews of the Spanish patria" was actually the title of a Sephardist propaganda film made by literary critic and pioneer of Spanish fascism Ernesto Giménez Caballero in 1931.

[73]"los maestros griegos" Ibid., 335-336.

known as the *takana* (ordinance) of Valladolid (*Ordenamiento procurado por los procuradores de las aljamas hebreas pertenecientes al territorio de los estados de Castilla, en la asamblea celebrada en Valladolid el año 1432*).[74] The ordinance or *takkanot*, written in a mixture of Spanish and Hebrew though in Hebrew characters (what is known sometimes as *aljamiado*),[75] emerged from the synod of Spanish-Jewish leadership held in the Castilian city of Valladolid in 1432. The synod, often touted as an example of the broad degree of autonomy granted to the Jewish Aljamas in Spain, formed a comprehensive attempt to revitalize and breathe life back into the beleaguered Jewish communities in the wake of the mass conversions and massacres which swept through the Spanish kingdoms in 1391.[76]

The *Ordenamiento* was later published as a monograph commissioned by the BRAH in 1886 along with an historical introduction also authored by Fernández y González.[77] In his introduction, Fernández y González notes that he had asked the RAH to purchase a copy of the manuscript as it served to "elucidate the history of the customs and of the legislation of the

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[74]*BRAH* 7:1-3 (Jul.-Sep.1885): 145-188 and 8:1 (Jan. 1886):10-26.

[75]He explains the particularities of the text to the readers that "[e]scrito todo el texto en letras hebreas, y redactado alternativamente ora en rabínico ó hebreo moderno con palabras castellanas, ora en castellano con palabras hebreas, no sin llevar la mezcla al punto de que un artículo castellano preceda á un nombre hebreo y oraciones y frases de cada uno de ambos idiomas reciban palabras del otro, demandaba en algún modo la necesidad absoluta de conservar las voces castellanas usadas en su redacción, el atribuir formas un tanto arcáicas…" Ibid., 26, note 1.

[76]The Synod was summoned by Don Abraham Beneveniste the *Rab de la Corte* (Chief Rabbi) of Castille (the largest Spanish kingdom) and ,together with the invited Jewish delegates from the different communities, they discussed and ruled upon the election of Jewish judges and of the *rab de la corte* (rabbi of the court), the legal relations of Jews with the Spanish State (the Spanish government had given the Jewish community autonomy to decide civil and criminal cases before Jewish judges), including most notably the ability to impose capital punishment; an indication of the expansive degree of the autonomy granted to the Jewish community in Spain. For further discussion of the events of 1391 and *Takana* and Synod of Valladolid see Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain,* and Haim Beinart, "The Converso Problem in 15th-Century Spain," Richard Barnett, ed., *The Sephardi Heritage: Volume I : The Jews in Spain and Portugal Before and After the Expulsion of 1492* (London, 1971), 425-456.

[77]*Ordenamiento formado por los procuradores de las aljamas hebreas, pertenecientes al territorio de los estados de Castilla, en al asamblea celebrada en Valladolid el año* 1432 (Madrid, 1886).

Medieval period" and was of "utmost importance for the juridical, political and religious history of the Castilian pueblo".[78] Such reasoning suggests how the example of Jewish law and autonomy is presented as transcending Jewish particularism, offering universalist implications, a theme Fernández y González already had begun to develop in his earlier writings. Moreover, he acknowledged, M. Hartwig Derenbourg, the "illustrious Orientalist" and correspondent member of the RAH in Paris, had brought the manuscript to his attention, and Fernández y González viewed such cooperation from the Academia's correspondents in "all civilized countries," and especially in the European ones, as imperative to what he considered the "not at all simple labor of illustrating and unearthing from the shadows of the unknown, valuable material of our historia patria."[79] Notably, the majority of the correspondents he was referring to (such as his "distinguished friend" Isidore Loeb, whom he consulted about the translation of the manuscript) were Jewish, suggesting a parallel between the notion of 'Jewishness' and "civilization."[80] Finally, this rendering of scholarly cooperation of Jews and Spaniards in unearthing and recovering Spanish sources that validate Spain's historia patria as a patriotic duty seemed to evoke the scholarly collaborations of the medieval Iberian convivencia so lauded by Fernández y González in his writings on the period.

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[78]"Estimada la noticia según el interés que la Academia pone, por costumbre, en cuanto dice relación á los preciados fines que persigue, alentéme á solicitar de ella que procurase adquirir una copia de documentos tan interesante, al efecto de esclarecer la historia de las costumbres y de la legislación en la Edad Media." Ibid., 1.

[79]"Ventaja no poca, granjeada á esta Corporación por la sabiduría de sus Estatutos, ofrece el contar en todos los países civilizados, en especial en los europeos, beneméritos y activos auxiliares, prontos á prestarle ayuda en la no nada fáciles tareas de ilustrar y sacar de las tinieblas de los desconocido valiosos materiales de nuestra historia patria . . . el insigne orientalista y correspondiente suyo en Paris M. Hartwig Derenbourg. Muy pocos meses han transcurrido desde que tuve la honra de señalar á la consideración del Cuerpo, que existía en la Biblioteca Nacional de la vecina República un documento de privadísima importancia para la historia jurídica, política y religiosa del pueblo castellano." The original manuscript was found in France's National Library. Ibid.

[80]Ibid., 109.

Fernández y González's work on the ordinance illustrates the breadth of his Hebraism and familiarity with the history of the Jews of Spain based on both primary and secondary sources. In his analysis he draws on Jewish as well as Christian sources, further indication that the former prejudice and suspicion expressed by his father-in-law, Amador de los Rios, regarding the use of Jewish sources past and present was replaced by a growing engagement with such sources and individuals. In narrating the events of 1391, for example, Fernández y González describes the persecution of Jews at the hands of Ferrán Martínez the Archdeacon of Ecija and the great influence of the preaching of San Vicente Ferrer on "the destruction of mosques and synagogues", as in winning converts to Christianity, based almost entirely on Jewish historical accounts.[81] It was indeed Fernández y González's reliance on the Jewish sources that exposed Fray Vicente Ferrer to unfavorable scrutiny in this context.[82]

Fernández y González's work on the *Takana* also suggests an impressive knowledge of rabbinical Hebrew. This much is reflected in his diligent discussion of a medieval Hebrew elegy (*quina)* about the persecutions of 1391 which he included in his commentary and which he first read in the works of Heinrich Graetz and Adolf Jellinek. In addition to translating it into Spanish, he offered critical comments on the syntax and rhyme of the *quina* and suggests several corrections of earlier translations.

In addition to a more expansive Hebraism (in relation to his Spanish predecessors), Fernández y González's work on the ordinance illustrates a dedication to illuminating some of the finer historigraphical aspects of the history of Spanish Jewry. Through his translation of and

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[81]"en gran manera influyentes, así en yermar mezquitas y sinagogas, como en granjear prosélitos al Cristianismo." Ibid., 4. Some of these sources are Usque's *Consolaçam*, as well as sources of Jewish authorship such as Isaac Cardoso *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (Ámsterdam, 1679).

[82]Fernández y González further explored Vicente Ferrer's role in the events of 1391 in "San Vicente Ferrer y la Judería de Valencia en 1391," *BRAH* 5:5 (May 1886): 358-398.

commentary on the ordinance he hoped to illustrate the great degree of autonomy held by the Jewish community in Spain prior to the Expulsion and counter what he considered the "commonly held belief" of many historians that "liberties and privileges of the Jews had at the time been almost entirely eliminated."[83] Fernández y González emphasizes in this context that unlike other similar synods held in the past, the Jewish officials in this case "proposed, examined and decreed the legislation themselves," rather than having to await the approval of a "royal provision or ordinance of the prince."[84] He traced the roots of Jewish autonomy in the Iberian Peninsula back to Visigothic times and in his discussion of Jewish autonomy under Muslim and Christian rule, demonstrated his familiarity with Jewish law and political life in the Iberian Peninsula (as he had earlier demonstrated with regard to Muslim law).

What is perhaps most interesting about Fernández y González's discussion of Jewish law in a historical context is his culturally relativistic attitude toward the relevance of Jewish juridical history for Spaniards and Spanish history. He attempts to demonstrate that Jewish law was not something antiquated but that it rather should be considered seriously in thinking about the juridical and political history of the Iberian Peninsula.[85] For, he explains, "parliamentary and representative forms of governing are not as uncommon as one might initially suspect, neither

[83]"que las libertades y privilegios del pueblo de Israel desaparecieron entonces casi por complete, si no viniese á alterar semejante opinión histórica el documento que nos ocupa." Ibid., 7.

[84]"pero á diferencia de lo que ocurre en otras semejantes, no se limitaron los procuradores elegidos por las aljamas hebreas, á dirigir y encarecer peticiones cuya concesión esperasen, bajo la forma de provisión real ú ordenamiento del príncipe; sino que ellos mismos proponían, examinaban y decretaban las medidas legislativas." Ibid.

[85]"el insigne orientalista y correspondiente suyo en Paris M. Hartwig Derenbourg. Muy pocos meses han transcurrido desde que tuve la honra de señalar á la consideración del Cuerpo, que existía en la Biblioteca Nacional de la vecina República un documento de privadísima importancia para la historia jurídica, política y religiosa del pueblo castellano." Ibid., 1.

among the Jews, nor Arabs, nor among other Semitic peoples."[86] He moreover emphasizes the importance of the rule of law in the teachings of Judaism, noting that in Judaism "the teaching of the law is the foundation of belief."[87] Moreover, he explicitly suggests that the document also serves as a contribution to a broader understanding of the legal history of the Iberian Peninsula, as he strikingly explains that the Jewish delegates "began their dispositions in the name of God, just like those of the Fuero and Cortes of León" and compares the ordinance produced by the Jewish delegates in Valladolid as "analogous to a tome of the *Cortes*."[88]

Fernández y González's work on the ordinance also allowed him to return to the topic of anti-Jewish violence and common allegations leveled against the Jews in the middle ages. In this case he addressed anti-Jewish violence (sparked by accusations of host desecration) in the city of Segovia upon the death of Enrique III of Castille (1376-1406). Among those accused of desecrating the host was Don Mayr Alugadés, the king's physician, who confessed, "defeated by the pain of the torture," and was condemned to death, "his limbs shredded" along with other Jews accused of "complicity in the sacrilege."[89] Fernández y González summarizes and analyzes the Jewish and Christian sources very thoroughly, only to demonstrate that there is in fact no proof the host desecration actually took place. Moreover, he explains that most likely the converso Pablo de Santamaria (formerly Shelomo ha-Levi), whose antipathy towards his former coreligionists was well known, "embraced the denunciations which did in D. Mayr, even if he

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[86]"ni entre los hebreos, ni entre los árabes, ni en los demás pueblos semíticos, son tan insólitas, como á primera vista pudiera creerse, las formas parlamentarias y representativas", Ibid. 7-8.

[87]"la enseñanza de la ley, fondo de la creencia…", Ibid., 14.

[88]"Comenzando sus disposiciones como las del Fuero y Cortes de León por la causa de Dios….es de todo punto análogo á un cuaderno de Cortes." Ibid., 13-14.

[89]Vencido por el dolor de la tortura…condenado a muerte con los miembros despedazados…complicidad en el sacrilegio." Ibid. 20-25.

personally did not initiate them" and that Alonso Espina (author of the anti-Jewish tract *Fortalitium Fidei* composed in the 1460) used them as a way to "satisfy the passions of those who contemplated renewed persecution of Jews and Mudejars."[90]

In addition to his familiarity and engagement with contemporary Jewish European scholars, Fernández y González was invested in promoting their writings on Spain's Jewish past and Jewish history more generally among Spaniards.[91] In one such case, Fernández y González saw it fit to translate and publish an article on the periodization of the history of European Jewish history elaborated for the RAH by the English-Jewish scholar Joseph Jacobs upon his election as a corresponding member of the RAH in London in November of 1888. A reading of Jacobs' text in conjunction with Fernández y Gonzalez's introduction proves to be of value in thinking not only about the current state of academic studies of the Jewish past in Spain, but also about how this history may have figured into broader aspects of Spain's relationship with its Jewish past.

In his brief introduction to the piece, Fernández y González praised Jacobs's work and the RAH's decision to "invite such an intelligent scholar to join its ranks." Fernández y González moreover viewed making Jacobs' "Memoria" available in Spanish as a service to patria, as he noted the study served to "illustrate topics which are still obscured in the history of our patria."[92]

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[90]"Presumible es que D. Pablo acogiera, ya que no promoviera personalmente, las denuncias que hicieron perder la vida á D. Mayr y que Alonso de Spina, quien no había pensado, al parecer en dar crédito al suceso mientras componía su libro, lo hiciese al fin, como medio de halagar las pasiones de los que meditaban nueva persecución contra judíos y mudéjares." Ibid., 25. For discussion of Alonso Espina's *Fortalitium Fidei* see Alisa Meyuhas Ginio, "The Fortress of Faith—at the End of the West: Alonso de Espina and his *Fortalitium Fidei*," Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa, *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and* Jews (Tübingen, 1996), 215-237.

[91] For example, Fernández y González published many manuscripts pertaining to the Jewish past, such as Adolph Neubauer's memoria of the *apolegética* of the well known seventeenth-century Dominican and converso Fray Raimundo Martí, *BRAH* 16: 4 (May 1890): 372.

[92]"remitiendo á este Cuerpo una discreta Memoria sobre el tema indicado arriba. La cual testifica el acierto de la Academia al llamar á su seno escritor tan inteligente, consagrado con especialidad á un orden de estudios, propios para ilustrar puntos oscurecidos todavía en nuestra patria." Francisco Fernández y González, introduction to *BRAH* 15:1-3 (Jul.-Sep. 1889): 152.

Jacobs called upon Spanish scholars and the Real Academia de la Historia in particular to examine the Jewish past in a scientific way, and to encourage more studies on the topic.

While acknowledging and praising the work of Fidel Fita, Jacobs remarked that "among the works published under the official approval of the RAH, there were several works related to the Moors, but none about the Jews of Spain," whom he contended were "after all not enemies but merely Spaniards of different religious belief", a common nineteenth-century formulation reflecting the way Jews in Germany, France and England viewed themselves. "Why" therefore, he implored, "could the Academy not encourage works on the history of the Jews of Spain, proposing awards for monographs on this topic?"[93] Jacobs' appeal thus embraced an understanding of a common history and identity of Sephardim and Spaniards, an understanding Francisco Fernández y González appeared to have shared.

Another opinion the two scholars, Spaniard and Jew, seem to have shared was the belief the Jews held a special place in the understanding of History. Jacobs wrote that it is the "conviction of many non-Jews that, through the suffering of the Israelite race, they are divinely designated" and that "only the Jews form a bridge between the world of antiquity and the modern world. If their history lacked internal meaning, the life of man on earth would not have any rational purpose."[94] It was moreover in Spain that this exceptionalism manifested itself most prominently, according to Jacobs, as he considered the history of the Jews of Spain "the richest

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[93]"Entre las obras dadas á la estampa con la aprobación oficial de la Academia, veo algunas relativas á los moros, pero ninguna que trate de los judíos de España, los cuales, después de todo, no eran enemigos, sino meramente españoles de diferente creencia religiosa. ¿No podría la Academia estimular las investigaciones acerca de la historia de los judíos de España, proponiendo premios para monografías sobre este asunto?" Ibid., 157.

[94]"á través de los padecimientos de la raza israelita, se muestra en ellos un designio divino; pues solo los judíos forman el puente entre el mundo antiguo y el mundo moderno. Si su hsotria careciese de sentido interno, la vida del hombre en la tierra no tendría ningún fin racional. Precisamente, á causa de esta consideración otorgada á la historia judáica, reclama particular atención de todos lo eruditos de oficio, sean judíos, cristianos ó libre pensadores." Ibid., 160.

and of superior interest" in all of Jewish history, and one which "can only be studied in the Iberian Peninsula." He thus declared that "We European Jews have our hopes pinned on you, learned thinkers and writers of Spain…among many there exists a fervent hope that in the not too distant future there would be many Spaniards, whom one could consider with equal legitimacy as Jews, who would become the guardians and scholars of Hispano-Jewish history."[95] In this case, Jacobs also appealed to Spanish anxieties regarding keeping pace with the rest of Europe in the area of "scientific progress," as he concluded that "when that time comes, it is incumbent upon the historians of Spain and especially those represented by the RAH, to assume the mission of marching alongside the rest of Europe in the scientific research of the *History of Israel*."[96] Once again, as in the work of Amador de los Ríos, attention to Jewish history was presented as a marker of 'civilization' and 'progress' while the proto-Hispanist civilizing mission with which Amador de los Ríos had endowed the Sephardic Jews in the Sephardic Diaspora was now reversed, as Spaniards—namely Spanish scholars—were entrusted to be the future guardians of the legacy of Sepharad.

Jacobs' appeal also evoked an earlier appeal made by a prominent European Jewish scholar to Spaniards to consider their Jewish past and bring it to bear on contemporary Spain. The earlier appeal made by Ludwig Philippson to the Spanish Cortes in the context of the struggle over *libertad de cultos* was very much in dialogue with Spanish scholarship on the Jews, while the official scholarly Spanish response to his attempt essentially silenced the legitimacy of

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[95]Nosotros, judíos europeos, tenemos fija la vista en vosotros, sabios pensadores y escritores de España, como quiera que una parte de la historia de los judíos, y en realidad la más rica y superiormente interesante, solo puede estudiarse en la misma Península Ibérica. Existe en muchos la ferviente esperanza de que en porvenir no remoto, habrá muchos que podrán llamarse españoles con igual legitimidad que judíos, los cuales serán entonces los guardianes é investigadores de la historia hispanojudáica." Ibid., 160.

[96]"En tanto que llega tal tiempo, incumbe de derecho á los historiadores de España, y especialmente á los representado por la Academia, la misión de caminar al par con el resto de Europa en las investigaciones científicas sobre la *Historia de Israel*". Ibid.

such dialogue and influence. In this instance however, it was Spanish scholars such as Fidel Fita and Francisco Fernández y González who fostered and sanctioned such dialogue and collaboration. Finally, the publication of such a pointed appeal from a European Jewish scholar directed to one of Spain's most prestigious scholarly institutions indicates not only the expanding connections with Jewish scholars, but also the interest of the editors of the BRAH in drawing attention to what they clearly viewed as a lacuna in Spain's *historia patria*. Perhaps this context may be viewed as a form and space of modern Judeo-Spanish cultural and intellectual convivencia, not only through the recovery of shared history, but also through actual contact and rapprochement.

III: The Reception of Semitic Iberian Hybridity as 'Official' *Historia Patria*

While Fernández y González's historical and linguistic theories of Semitic Iberian hybridity might seem somewhat at odds with official Catholic-centric Restoration historiography, they would soon receive its official seal of approval when Antonio Cánovas del Castillo invited Francisco Fernández y González to write the first tome of the series *Historia de España*. The series, directed and edited by del Castillo, represented the official history of Spain of the Restoration and would come to replace earlier comprehensive national histories. The massive tome authored by Fernández y González, *Primeros pobladores históricos de la península ibérica* (1890/1), traces the origins of the original inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula back to the different peoples of the Near East.[97] Basing his study on a variety of archeological, biblical and linguistic sources in multiple languages, including Arabic, Chaldean, Hebrew and Greek, Fernández y González establishes the hybridity of Iberia's ancient origins: "It appears

[97] *Primeros pobladores históricos de la península ibérica* (Madrid: 1891). The tome ends abruptly on page 464 and it is unclear whether more was published.

unquestionable in our judgment that the Iberian nation, properly speaking, emerged from various elements which, when united over time, ended up for the most part mixing and integrating with each other…"[98] Among these ancient "elements," he argues, were quite likely the Jews, as he argues that it is quite possible that "the sons of Israel, persecuted by the Pharaohs or desirous of better prospects had arrived in Spain in remote times…"[99] The official acceptance of such ideas regarding Iberian hybridity indicates the contending tensions Spain of the Restoration straddled in its construction of Spanish history, as well as the growing emphasis on the potential benefits of such theories in serving national interests.[100]

Such interests came to the fore in January 1894, when Fernández y González delivered a public talk on the influence of "Oriental languages and letters upon Iberian culture" (*La influencia de lenguas y letras orientales en la cultura de los pueblos de la Península Ibérica*), upon becoming a fellow of Spain's prestigious *Real Academia Española*.[101] On this occasion, the Jews, to whom he referred as *judíos españoles* (Spanish Jews), figured even more prominently than they had in his earlier work on similar topics.[102] Drawing on Hebrew primary sources, as well as on the work of European Jewish scholars, Fernández y González further

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[98]"parece indudable á nuestro juicio que la nación ibera propiamente dicha, se compuso de varios elementos, los cuales, si unidos en la sucesión de los tiempos, acabaron en su mayor parte por confundirse…" Ibid., 332-333.

[99]"En realidad, no parece imposible que arribasen á España en remotos tiempos…hijos de Israel, perseguidos por los faraones ó ganosos de propaganda…" Ibid., 355.

[100]See Goode, *Impurity of Blood*.

[101] Francisco Fernández y González, "La influencia de lenguas y letras orientales en la cultura de los pueblos de la Península Ibérica", *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública de D. Francisco Fernández y González el día 28 de enero de 1894*, Real Academia Español (Madrid: 1894).

[102]Ibid., 15.

elaborated his theories regarding the pre-Christian roots of Iberian identity by emphasizing the antiquity of Jewish presence and influence in the Peninsula.[103]

While the earliest material evidence of Jewish presence in the Iberian Peninsula dates to the second-century CE, the origins of the Jews of Spain have been shrouded in myth and legend. Fernández y González, for his part, established that Jews first settled in the Iberian Peninsula before the birth of Jesus while more followed after the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Hadrian. The claim that the presence of the Jews in Spain predated the crucifixion is thought to have originated with Sephardic Jews in the Middle Ages, who thought the claim might served to exculpate them of the charge of deicide in a climate of heightened anti-Jewish antagonism. The claim of arrival of Jews after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, on the other hand, connected to the myth that those Jews who settled in the Iberian Peninsula constituted members of the nobility who claimed direct descent from King David. By embracing such claims, perhaps Fernández y González hoped to create greater acceptance for his theories about the Jewish 'origins' of Spain among a Spanish public subject to unflattering medieval characterizations of Jews. To further strengthen proof of the antiquity of Jewish presence in the Peninsula, Fernández y González also mentions the "not insignificant" existence of "very ancient" aljamas (Jewish quarters) in different parts of the peninsula such as in Granada, the island of Menorca, Zaragoza, Toledo and Cordoba.[104] While Fernández y González did not

[103] Among the sources to which he refers are Moïse Schwab, *Itinéraire juif d'Espagne en Chine au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1891); Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*; and Avraham Geiger, *Divan des Castiliers Abu'l-Hassan Juda ha-Levi nebst Biographie und Anmerkungen* (Breslau, 1851). Most of the Hebrew manuscripts he cites are from Hermann Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits hébreux* et samaritains de la *Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris, 1866).

[104] "siendo de apreciar que influyera no poco en dicha conservación, ó á lo menos, en perpetuar el lenguaje semítico en las mencionadas partes de España, así muchedumbre de judíos establecidos en la Península Ibérica antes del nacimiento de Jesucristo, como los llegados después de la conquista y destrucción de Jerusalén por Tito y Hadriano, constando cuando menos la existencia de aljamas antiquísimas de esta raza en Granada, en la isla e Menorca, en Tarragona, el castillo de Rueda, cerca de Zaragoza, en Toledo y en Córdoba." Francisco Fernández y González, "La influencia de lenguas y letras orientales en la cultura de los pueblos de la Península Ibérica", 11.

provide "scientific" evidence for this claim, here he had recourse to the growing (and romanticized) national interest in antiquities to substantiate the nation's origins, as well as his own prominent involvement in archeological excavations and the retrieval of inscriptions and manuscripts, to lend credibility to his claims before his attentive audience at the RAH that afternoon.[105]

It was moreover the early Jewish inhabitants of Iberia, according to Fernández y González, who were integral in "preserving" and "perpetuating" Semitic languages and influences in the Peninsula. The Muslim invasion, he argued, extended and "enhanced" the highly oriental character of the culture of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages", as the "Semitic influence" of the invaders "blended" with the "older existing Semitic influences in the Peninsula" (referring to the Jews) and was reinforced, he wrote, by the arrival of "a multitude of Jews in the VII century fleeing the persecution of the Franks and Visigoths."[106] By attempting to demonstrate the antiquity not only of Jewish presence in the Peninsula, but of Jewish influence on the formation of Iberian culture, Fernández y González granted the Jews a central place in his construction of a Spanish identity rooted in hybridity. The Jews were thus not only to be thought of as Spaniards, but, in effect, as primordial citizens of Spain.

Another important element of Fernández y González,'s speech was establishing that Spain became the new and primary center of Jewish thought and culture. To illustrate this idea

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[105]Beyond the bi-lingual Latin-Hebrew tomb inscription from the year 30 CE, a letter from the bishop of Minorca from the third century regarding the burning of Jewish books and a synagogue indicates the existence of a Jewish community on the island. There is no such material evidence for early settlement prior to the later middle ages in the other locations to which Fernández y González refers.

[106]"Confundíanse así en el Mediodía de España como al otro lado del Estrecho importantes restos turanios, asdirios, fenicios y hebreos con los elementos semíticos traídos por los nuevos conquistadores, al par que se conservaba antiquísima mezcla turanio-semítica en las pendientes pirenaicas robustecida recientemente con la llegada de multitud de judíos, que se acogieron á aquel territorio, durante el discurso del siglo VII, huyendo las persecuciones de Francos y de Visigodos." Ibid., 12.

Fernández y González translated into Spanish the verses of medieval Sephardic poet and master of the maqāmāt genre of rhymed prose, Judah Al Harizi (approximately 1165-1225):

> Tiene Israel dos pilares
> Do el sol sale y do se pone,
> Uno se halla en Babilonia,
> Otro á España da renombre[107]
>
> (Israel has two pillars
> Where the sun rises and the where it sets,
> One is found in Babylonia,
> The other gives fame to Spain)

Fernández y González went even further however to claim that al-Harizi was not entirely correct as Spain's Jewish community, he argued, had superseded Babylonia in its prominence: "It is unquestionable that in those days the true center of Jewish literature and science of scripture, philosophy and grammar was permanently established in Spain, cultivated without interruption and with great proliferation in the Iberian Peninsula through the end of the XV century."[108] Demonstrating Sephardic exceptionalism compared to Jews elsewhere would come to serve Fernández y González's objective to prove Spanish exceptionalism.

In Fernández y González's construction of his narrative of the history of Muslim Spain, the "Spanish Jews" serve as central interlocutors who mediate between the new Arab rulers and other ethnic and religious groups within and outside the peninsula, serving as a buttress in the making of the glorified culture and society of Al-Andalus. Thus Fernández y González narrates how in the days of the Caliphate of Córdoba the Jews played an important role in fostering trade

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[107]Ibid., 120. On the maqāmāt and Yehuda al-Harizi see Ross Brann, *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-century Islamic Spain* (Princeton, 2002) and Jonathan Decter*, Iberian Jewish Literature: Between al-Andalus and Christian Europe* (Bloomington, 2007).

[108]"es indudable que, en aquellos días, se estableció permanente en España el verdadero centro de literatura y de la ciencia escripturaria filosófica y gramatical de los Hebreos, cultivada sin interrupción y con suma fecundidad en la Península Ibérica hasta fines del siglo XV." Francisco Fernández y González, "La influencia de lenguas y letras orientales en la cultura de los pueblos de la Península Ibérica", 20.

and industry in Spain with places as remote as China. The prosperous silk factories of Córdoba and news of the compass (which, he emphasized, "the Chinese used many years before the Christian Era") dating back to Arabia in the times of the prophet Muhammad, could thus be attributed, he claimed, to the "Spanish Jews who embarked on ships in Cartagena…and sailed via the Mediterranean to Egypt from where they traveled in caravans to Yemen and on to Basra where they embarked onto ships in the Persian gulf and navigated through the Indian Ocean until they arrived in the Middle Empire."[109] Moreover, Fernández y González explained that "there remains no doubt about the degree to which such distinguished men who played a central role as cultivators of Arabic letters" (referring to Jewish notables and courtiers such Samuel ha-Nagid [Ibn Nagrel](, were integral to "spreading oriental culture in Spain."[110]

In addition to claiming the prominence and great degree of influence the Jews exercised in the development of culture and science in Muslim Spain, what additionally emerges in the speech is an argument for the foundational role of the Jews in the making of Christian Spain. Fernández y González thus emphasized their importance in the transfer of the cultural legacy of Al-Andalus to Christian Spain. In the first half of the twelfth-century, he explained, Jews like Moses Ibn Ezra and Yehuha ha-Levi, the latter of whom Fernández y González considered to be "one of the most important figures of the Middle Ages," brought the culture of Muslim Spain to

[109]"Judíos españoles embarcados en Cartagena ó en Marsella y siguiendo itinerarios conocidos, que puntualiza el geógrafo coetáneo Aben-Jordabeh, llegaban por el Mediterráneo á Egipto, de allí se dirigían con caravanas al Yemen, luego á Basora, donde embarcados en el golfo Persaico navegaban por el mar de la India, hasta arribar al imperio del Medio. Dada esta frecuencia de comunicaciones, que autorizan las noticias impresas del viaje de Suleimán y de Eldad el Danita pertenecientes al mismo siglo, á nadie cuasará extrañeza que existiesen en Córdoba fábricas de sedería, florecientes de introducción más ó menos antigua, y que los poetas del amirato en tiempo de Muhammad aludiesen á la brújula, que emplearon los Chinos bastantes años antes de la Era Cristiana." Ibid., 15. Fernández y González cites Jewish historian Moises Schwab and accounts of the travels of Suleimán and the Jewish Eldad Ha-Dani regarding the frequency of communication between Spain and China.

[110]"No hay para qué advertir cuánto influirían aquellos hombres insignes, que figuraban en primera línea, como cultivadores de las letras arábigas, en la difusión de la cultura oriental en España." Ibid., 31.

Christian Spain.[111] He contended that this cultural transfer would have an important influence on the development of Castilian letters, providing the example of ha-Levi, whom he considered a forerunner of Castilian poetry:

> the sweetness of his verses, in which it is not rare to find, as the culmination and crown of these Hebrew compositions, the rhythms of words and phrases of old Castilian (which may perhaps make him the oldest known Castilian bard), moves one to think of the delightful melody of the verses of Fray Luis de León, and has in modern times inspired the elegiac sentiment of the muse of Heine's compositions.[112]

Other medieval Sephardic intellectuals and their work earned similar praise from Fernández y González ,who characterized Maimonides' "Guide for the Perplexed" as "universally recognized as one of the most profound works of natural theology written in the Middle Ages."[113]

Fernández y González thus explained that Jewish refugees from Muslim Spain were vital in "producing an extraordinary efflorescence of Spanish letters in the thirteenth-century, and such that one can only compare it in certain respects to the Italian and European renaissance of the sixteenth-century…."[114] Among some of the more notable "learned" Jews who had assisted the Christian kings in his opinion were Juan Daud and Abraham Bar Hiya: "two geniuses of the Spanish patria whose names must be registered with gratitude in the history of letters."[115] Jewish

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[111]"una de las figures literarias más importantes que ha producido la Edad Media." Ibid., 32.

[112]"la dulzura de sus versos, en que no es raro advertir, como terminación y corona de composiciones hebreas, ritmos de palabras y frase antigua castellana (que pudieran quizá acreditarle como el vate castellano más antiguo que se conoce), mueve á pensar en la deleitable melodía de los versos de Fray Luis de León, y ha inspirado modernamente sentido elogio á la musa de Heine en composición…" Ibid., 32-33.

[113]"reconocida universalmente cual una de las obras de teología natural más profundas escritas en la Edad Media." Ibid., 47.

[114]"producir extraordinario florecimiento para las letras españolas durante el siglo xiii, y tal que solo pueden comparársele, en ciertos respectos, el renacimiento italiano y europeo del siglo xvi…" Ibid., 49.

[115]"dos ingenios de patria española, cuyos nombres debe registrar con gratitud la historia de las letras, le israelita Juan Daud ó Juan Aben-Daud, conocido vulgarmente por Juan Hispaniense ó Hispalense", while in Barcelona "unidos tan discretos varones, para un fin científico común, en relaciones análogas á aquellas que se muestran en la tareas acometidas en Barcelona por Abraham Bar Hiya…" Ibid., 43-44.

men of letters thus became founding fathers of the 'patria' while medieval Sephardic cultural contributions came to bear universal significance as markers of civilization and the cultural foundations of Spain and Europe more broadly.

Another area in which Fernández y González argued that the Jews proved instrumental in transmitting the legacy of Al-Andalus and in shaping the culture of Christian Spain was the lofty endeavor of translating Arabic, Hebrew and Greek texts (previously translated into Arabic) to Latin. In this context Fernández y González described Jewish influence in the court culture of King Alfonso X and the famed "School of Translators" the "wise" King allegedly founded in Toledo.[116] In addition to their contribution in the area of translation, Fernández y González moreover sought to demonstrate the great deal of influence of these Jewish scholars on the historical writings of Alfonso X, particularly his *Grande é General Historia* (also known as the *Estoria de Espanna*).[117] Not only were the Jews intermediaries who assisted in the making of Spanish 'culture', according to this interpretation, but they essentially 'co-authored' a foundational text of the Spanish 'patria.'

Fernández y González extended the foundational role of the Jews not only to Spain's "Oriental Character", but also to the scholarly study of "Orientalism" which he deemed essential for a nation's progress. It was to the continued influence of the Jews of Castile who served as advisors and scholars to Christian Kings that Fernández y González thus credited the establishment of professorships in Hebrew and Arabic at the universities of Salamanca, Paris,

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[116]The term "School" in this context has been used to refer to the vast enterprise of translation initiated in the court of Alfonso X, though whether Alfonso X ever established a physical 'school' is unclear. For studies of Alfonso X and his court culture see Burns, ed., *Emperor of Culture* and *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned*. For a study of Alfonso X and the Jews see Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews*.

[117]Fernández y González, "La influencia de lenguas y letras orientales en la cultura de los pueblos de la Península Ibérica", 51-52. Fernández y González indicates that the work of Gayangos, Dozy, Amador de los Ríos, Malo de Molina y Riaño "testifican unánimes la paladina influencia oriental que los avalora", 51.

Oxford and Bologna. Such influence and developments he argued, also led Christian authors to value "Oriental" education and letters to such a degree that at a later period, in the second half of the fourteenth-century, in his renowned chronicle, the illustrious writer and chancellor of Castile"—Pedro López de Ayala—"noted the years of the era of Caesar as recorded by the Castilians, as well as those of the creation according to the Jews and of the Mohammedans . . . „[118]

Fernández y González even identified Jewish influence in medieval Catholic religious discourse in Spain. He attributed this influence to Jewish converts to Christianity like Moséh Sefardi, a Jew who was baptized in Huesca in 1106 and the author of *Disciplina clerical*. According to Fernández y González this convert may have been the first one to cultivate this genre in Spanish literature, one which he claimed was heavily influenced by Sefardi's former religion, as "the dialogues of his religious polemics demonstrate his incredibly impressive knowledge of Talmudic doctrine."[119] Ironically, Fernández y González also argued that the spread of Jewish and Muslim letters in Christian Spain in fact helped fortify Christian religious polemics against Jews and Muslims.[120] In this context, Fernández y González appears to suggest the contentious nature of cultural interaction and "convivencia" as cultural influence in this case helped enhance conflict.

While Spanish Orientalists (including Fernández y González) had sought to demonstrate the influence of the Arabic language on Castilian, in his speech Fernández y González

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[118]"Llegó á punto la influencia de la educación oriental, más adelante, que en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV, el insigne escritor y canciller de Castilla, señalaba en su renombrada crónica los años de la era de César por la cuenta de los castellanos, los de la Creación según los judíos y los de Mahoma para el uso é inteligencia de los alarabes." Ibid., 55.

[119]"mostrándose en sus diálogos de controversia religiosa eruditísimo en las doctirnas tálmúdicas." Ibid., 41.

[120]Ibid., 54.

emphasized the importance of Hebrew on its development. He stated that in examining administrative documents form Christian Spain he found "evidence that Latin, in relationship to vernacular speech was abundantly enriched by the dictions of the language of the Muslims and Hebrews."[121] Moreover, in addition to the large number of Arabic loan words, Fernández y González added that "frequent assimilations of the language written and spoken by the Jews strengthened the Oriental element which shapes our language."[122] He suggests that further influences from Hebrew could be detected through "the patient and thorough study of our juridical and literary monuments, just as in the voices and idioms in provincial usage…"[123]

As the speech unfolded, it appeared that the choice to focus on the Jews on this occasion paralleled a shift from the earlier need to glorify Muslim Spain to Fernández y González's desire to demonstrate the strengths and glory of Christian Spain after the twelfth century. He argued that not only were Jews instrumental in the transfer of culture from Muslim to Christian Spain, but that the social and literary prominence achieved by Jews in Christian Spain surpassed that of any other place." For, he argued, the "center of the Jewish intelligentsia was in Spain" and after the persecution of the Jews by the Almohads "the Jewish population converged in the five

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[121]"testifican que el latín bárbaro en sus relaciones con el lenguaje vulgar acaudalaba del idioma de los islamíes y Hebreos dicciones en abundancia." Ibid., 40.

[122]"Agregánse, además de esto, y robustecen dicho elemento oriental, que matiza, ya que no altera profundamente *el carácter predominante latino de nuestro idioma* frecuentes asimilaciones del lenguaje escritoy habaldo por los Hebreos, cuyas formas vulgares caldaicas y arameas se acercan á maravillosa al arábigo, no sin ofrecerse de resalto condiciones peculiares suyas, según se muestran especialmente en las voces *badil y lisonja,* y la de *malsín,* técnica del "calumnidor" en derecho judío y defenida como designación de especial delincuencia en la crónica de Pero López de Ayala, en la de *cáñama* en lo rentístico, en la de *res* por cabeza en ganadería, en la de *mata* por ciudad ú objeto adherido á la tierra, en la de *lobas* por vestido y en otras vulgares frecuentísimas." Ibid., 57-58.

[123]"Mas, con ser de intéres notorio estas influencias, mayores quizá pudieran descubrirse con el estudio paciente y detenido de nuestros monumentos jurídicos y literarios, así como en las voces y modismos conservados en usos provinciales, comparados con el texto de escrituras castellanas de agarenos y de de judíos y de las obras más preciadas, que éstos compusieron en la época de su florecimiento." Ibid., 58.

Christian kingdoms in Castille, León, Aragón, Portugal and Navarra."[124] He concludes that even at the beginning of the fifteenth-century, despite persecutions and pogroms which he attributes to the preaching and incitement of Ferrán Martínez the archdeacon of Ecija, the Jews continued to produce great men of letters.

It was moreover precisely at the end of the fifteenth-century, Fernández y González argued, that the "culture of the Jews and Arabs influenced the most significant events that separate the middle ages in Spain from Modern times." It was the "wise and insightful administration of the Abravanels" (the renowned Jewish family of advisors to the Catholic Kings) which determined the "success of the military expeditions against Granada." At the same time, Jewish involvement in the translation of Arabic scientific texts to Latin and vernacular languages, inspired and made possible "navigations to remote places" including Colombus' "endeavor of discovering the Western Indies."[125] By indicating the Jewish role in shaping such events, Fernández y González essentially claimed the direct role of the Jews in determining the course of Spanish history as well as in the making of "Golden Age" Spain.

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[124]"Ocurría en aquella sazón, escribe un diligente historiador de nuestra edad, el último florecimiento insigne de la literatura de los Hebreos, quienes si por su número predominaban todavía quizá en Babilonia y en Palestina, en ninguna manera conseguían, por lo común la importancia social y literaria , de que disfrutaban en los estados cristianos de la Península Ibérica. El centro de la inteligencia del judaísmo, añade, estaba en España; como quiera que después de la furiosa persecución de los almohades, la población judía había confluido á los cinco reinos cristianos en Castilla, León, Aragón, Portugal y Navarra. Á consecuencia de este movimiento israelita, que compartieron en algún modo algunos doctores árabes disgustados d ela barbarie africana, la aureola de gloria que rodeaba anteriormente á las escuelas hebreas de Córodba, pasó á ser ornamento de las cortes de la España cristiana, entre las cuales se señaló grandemente en este sentido la industriosa y culta Toledo." Ibid., 47.

[125]"Precisamente al terminar dicha centuria, la cultura de judíos y de árabes influye en los acontecimientos más granados que separan los tiempos medios españoles de la Edad moderna; la entendida y previsora administración de los Abarbaneles acude a allanar las dificultades, que estorbaran, por largo tiempo, el logro de las expediciones dirigidas contra Granada, y la ciencia arábiga trasladada á los libros vulgares y latinos favorece el impulso de remotas navegaciones; pues según refiere Cristóbal Colón en una de sus cartas dirigidas as los Reyes Católicos, la lectura y consideración de los expuesto por Aben Ruiz (Averröes), le movieron y aun estimularon a la empresa de descubrir las Indias occidentales." Ibid., 56.

IV. Other Responses to *Orientalismo Hebraico*

While the ideas of Fernández y Gonzelez appeared to receive much approval in scholarly circles and institutions, not everyone welcomed his ideas on the origins of the Patria. One such critical response, which provides a glimpse into the kind of opposition such ideas would receive and the growing ideological cleavages the topic elicited, was the *Contestación* (response) to Fernández y González's speech at the RAH, delivered by D. Francisco A. Commelerán y Gómez.[126] The *Contestación*, delivered within the 'well-bred' confines of the Academy, indicated a shift to a more ideologically zealous and racially-based re-embrace of Iberian Christian nationalistic purity (compared to views of this nature from the earlier part of the nineteenth century) constructed in opposition to the notion of Iberian hybridity. This shift not only reflects the growth of racialist thought in Spain, used to support different visions of the patria, but also illuminates the development of neo-Catholic Orthodoxy and the influence of its leading proponent, the distinguished Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo.[127]

Commelerán y Gómez opened his speech by lavishing praise with typically ingratiating academic rhetorical flourish, asserting that Fernández y Gonzalez was not only a "distinguished Orientalist" but that his work encompassed all "genres of human disciplines" and had proven to benefit "contemporary national culture."[128] Turning to the topic of the *Discurso*, Commelerán y Gómez noted that its theme was "incredibly thorny and difficult", suggesting to the audience that

[126]"Contestación al discurso del excelentísimo Señor D. Francisco Fernández y González por D. Francisco A. Commelerán y Gómez," Real Academia Española, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública de D. Francisco Fernández y González el día 28 de enero de 1894*.

[127]Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo was hailed as the founder of neo-Catholic orthodoxy and a champion of the ultramontane party. His *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Madrid, 1880) which received great acclaim represented his unbending orthodoxy and served as a reference to Catholic nationalists for generations to come.

[128]"ha labrado su envidiable y merecida reputación de docto en todo género de humanas disciplinas. Porque el Sr. Fernández y González no es sólo un orientalista distinguido, como pudiera creer el vulgo de las gentes. La historia, la crítica literaria, la ciencia de lo bello y la jurisprudencia han sido por él beneficiadas con éxito mas que lisonjero para la cultura nacional contemporánea…" Commelerán y Gómez, "Contestación al discurso", 67.

his reception of the speech was unlikely to be all embracing.[129] Indeed, abandoning the initial academic niceties, Commelerán y Gómez quickly established the thrust of his stand on the topic, indicating that what the audience might have very well noticed as missing from Fernández y González's speech was the discussion of the "most interesting periods of Roman and Visigothic rule." In the remainder of his speech, Commelerán y Gómez thus attempted to reclaim the Christian foundations of the Spanish patria by establishing a Catholic-Roman-Gothic thesis, while deliberately razing any notion of the Semitic contributions and influences Fernández y González had so enthusiasticaly and painstakingly labored to demonstrate.

While not mentioning Fernández y González by name, but clearly referring to the ideas he presented in the speech, Commelerán y Gómez proclaimed that "no matter what, it is impossible to deny that Roman language and civilization were the foundation of our language and civilization, modified first by the character of the Iberian race and later by the doctrine of Christianity."[130] What is more, Commelerán y Gómez re-claimed the term "Oriental" in this context, referring to "neo-Latin" Orientalism which he attributed to the influence of Iberia's early Christians to whom he attributed the "Oriental influence in the language and literature of our patria." For, he argued, "the Oriental spirit remained alive in the Hispanic-Christian literature of that time through the study of the holy scriptures which was the principal inspiration for the Spanish masters…"[131] Through this thesis, Commelerán y Gómez furthermore argued that the study of sciences and humanities flourished in Spain well before the Arab conquest. It

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[129]"un punto tan espinoso y difícil." Ibid., 70. .

[130]"Sea como quiera, es imposible negar que la lengua y civilización romanas fueron la base de nuestra lengua y civilización, modificadas primero por el carácter de la raza ibera y después por la doctrina del Cristianismo." Ibid., 86.

[131]"la influencia oriental en la lengua y literatura de nuestra patria…El espíritu oriental manteníase vivo en la literatura hispano-cristiana de aquel tiempo por el estudio de las sagradas escrituras en que con preferencia se inspiraban y nutrían los ingenios españoles…", Ibid., 79.

was moreover the Mozarabs (Arabized Christians living in Muslim Spain)[132] and the Muladíes (Christian converts to Islam), who according to him were responsible for the transfer of "classical knowledge" to the Arabs.[133]

Commelerán y Gómez not only disputed claims of Arab influence on Spanish culture, but felt compelled to engage with the issue of Jewish influence, in response to the prominent place Fernández y González had granted the Jews in the speech. In a similar vein to his negation of Arabic Orientalism, Commelerán y Gómez attempted to repudiate the idea of Hebraic Orientalism, replacing it with what he referred to as "neo-Latin Orientalism."[134] Providing a few examples of Hebrew, words and names that entered the Castilian lexicon, he indicated that there are very few that actually entered directly from Hebrew as the majority "made their way into Castilian through the natural route of Latin, while others entered through Greek.[135] For, he proclaimed, it was "the dedicated study the Spanish masters dedicated to the holy scriptures which when united with classical Latin letters and culture, formed the opulent wealth of knowledge of Isidoran science, the base and foundation of national culture, during the long period of our glorious reconquest."[136] As for the influential Jewish author, Shem Tov ('Santob')

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[132]On the contested identity of the Mozarabs see Diego Olstein, *La Era Mozárabe: los Mozárabes de Toledo (Siglos XII y XIII) en la Historiografía, las Fuentes y la Historia* (Salamanca, 2006).

[133]"en las escuelas españolas había florecido la doctrina del filófoso Estagirita mucho antes de que los Árabes invasores de nuestra patria tuvieran de ella noticia por conducta de muzárabes y muladíes." Commelerán y Gómez, "Contestación al discurso", 82.

[134]"Neolatina." Ibid., 103.

[135]"penetraron en ella por el natural conducto del latín… The examples of *Hebreo, Jesús, Judío, Mesías, Sábado, Samaritano* among others are given as entering via Latin and *Pascua* and *Sanhedrin* as entering via Greek. Ibid., 103.

[136]"La influencia oriental hebrea más notable en nuestra literatura, así latina como romance, tiene por origen no los múltiples y variados frutos de la brillante cultura de los judíos, que á partir del siglo XI de nuestra era hicieron de sus notable aptitudes aventajado alarde en nuestra península, sino del estudio que los ingenios españoles dedicaron á las Sagradas Escrituras, que en unión de las letras y cultura clásicas y latinas formaron el opulento caudal de la ciencia isidoriana, base y fundamento de la cultura nacional, durante el largo período de nuestra gloriosa reconquista." Ibid., 103. "y era que el pueblo judío por su especialísimo carácter, por sus tendencias y por

ben Isaac Ardutiel de Carrión (mid 1300s), who wrote in Castilian,[137] Commelerán y Gómez explained (lest there be any doubt) that when Jews "cultivated our language and literature, far from contributing any genuinely Hebraic element, they demonstrated how they were not merely influenced by, but actually dominated by our culture, casting their thinking in the same mold in which Spanish thought had been forged."[138]

In addition to the religious-national aspects of the neo-Latin thesis, the *Contestación*, reveals explicit contempt for both Jews and Arabs as "Semites" in racial terms.[139] In fact such explicit racialist thinking subsumed the religious and national, marking a notable departure from the angst-ridden religious-based ambivalence that been accorded to the place of the Jews in a *moderado* Liberal Christian Spanish patria by José Amador de los Ríos. In Commelerán y Gómez's ultramontane view, by contrast, the Jews not only stood markedly outside the confines of the 'patria', but were its natural and intrinsic enemies. What is more, he chose to present this view as the collective feeling of 'the Spanish people' of the time, though that he shared this view soon became clear: "The Spanish people viewed the Jew with the same suspicion as the Muslim people: they saw in him an enemy of their religion, patria and race." For this reason,

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el aislamiento en que voluntariamente se encerraba, venía a ser en el seno de la sociedad genuinamente española, desde los tiempos del reino visigótico hasta el día mismo de la conquista de Granada, un cuerpo verdadamente extraño, que dificultaba é impedía en todas ocasiones y por artes diversas el movimiento y desarrollo del espíritu español, esencialmente cristiano." Ibid., 102.

[137]Shem Tov Ardutiel is the only Jew of his time (of whom we know) to write an original book in the vernacular, the *Proverbios Morales* ("Moral Proverbs"). The book is an original work of wise sayings in verse (a genre cultivated during the Middle Ages and often referred to as "wisdom literature"). On the "Moral Proverbs" see for example Theodore Perry, *The Moral Proverbs of Santob Carrión: Jewish Wisdom in Christian Spain* (Princeton, 1987).

[138]"cultivan nuestra lengua y literatura, lejos de aportar á ella ningún elemento genuinamente hebraico, manifiéstanse no influídos, sino dominados por nuestra cultura, fundiendo su pensamiento en el molde mismo en que se fundía el pensamiento español, y de la misma suerte que lo fundieron los conversos Santa María y Jerónimo Santa Fe." Commelerán y Gómez, "Contestación al discurso", 102.

[139]Los hijos de Israel, Semitas como los Árabes…" Ibid., 100.

Commelerán y Gómez argued, it was "impossible that Castilian letters could ever be influenced to any degree, whether great or minuscule, by Hebrew literature."[140]

The suspicion with which the Jews were viewed could moreover never be altered, as Commelerán y Gómez claimed the Christians "have never forgotten at any moment that the most efficient auxiliaries in the Mohammaden invasion were the Jews."[141] He attributed this memory to "popular sentiment" which ever since this betrayal led to the "perception of the Jews as the most serious and persistent obstacle which blundered the enterprise of the reconquista."[142] Beyond this nationalistic explanation of "popular sentiment" (one not uncommon even among more moderate Spanish scholars) Commelerán y Gómez attributed the negative feelings the Christians harbored towards the Jews, to the Jews' alleged conduct: "their behavior in many cases provided a foundation for this popular belief; and the cruel persecutions they suffered at the hands of the Christians, anguished at times by the deceptive Israelite shrewdness, deepened more and more the abyss which separated the two races, a fate which made it impossible for the abhorred sons of Israel to positively influence our letters."[143] Amador de los Ríos had also written of the "bottomless abyss" between Jew and Spaniard, based on irreconcilable religious difference, yet his writing was tinged with enough ambivalence, especially regarding Jewish

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[140]"El pueblo español miraba al judío con el mismo recelo que al pueblo musulmán: veía en él un enemigo de su religión y de su patria y de su raza: y en estas condiciones no era posible que las letras castellanas se dejaran influir poco ni mucho por la literatura hebrea." Ibid., 101.

[141]"no se había olvidado en ningún tiempo entre los cristianos, que los más eficaces auxiliares de la invasión agarena habían sido los judíos…" Ibid.

[142]"el instinto popular…el obstáculo más serio y persistente con que tropezaba la empresa heroica de la reconquista." Ibid.,

[143]"su conducta en muchísimas casos daba fundamento á esta creencia popular; y las persecuciones crueles que sufrieron de parte de los cristianos agobiados á veces por los artes de la astucia israelita, ahondaban más y más el abismo que separaba á las dos razas, de suerte que no era posible que los aborrecidos hijos de Israel influyeran positivamente en nuestras letras." Ibid.

contributions to Spanish culture, which, at the very least, left room for the imagining of a future rapprochement and the bridging of the fraught historiographical chasm.

In this racialist vein, Commelerán y Gómez spoke of the "Jewish invasion" from which "our fathers" tried to defend themselves through legislation. This invasion, he explained was considered "according to popular sentiment as an incurable cancer which would sooner or later bring about the end of Spanish nationality."[144] Commelerán y Gómez moreover attributed such sentiment to what he considered the Jews' (to whom he derisively referred to as "those unfortunate sons of a deicidal people")[145] inherent inability to integrate or assimilate:

> In history they are a singular phenomenon…the Jewish people due to their most particular character, their tendencies and the isolation in which they voluntarily enclose themselves, came to be in the bosom of the genuinely Spanish society, from the times of the Visigothic kingdom until the very day of the conquest of Granada, a truly foreign entity, which complicated and impeded on every occasion and through diverse scheming the movement and development of the essentially Christian Spanish spirit.[146]

The Jews' "foreignness" and "otherness" was thus deemed incompatible, according to this view, with what was considered 'genuinely' Spanish in religious and racial terms.

Commelerán y Gómez moreover established the solution to Spain's 'Jewish problem' as that of the path taken by the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabella: that of their final exclusion from the patria. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, he proclaimed, had been "recognized by history as loyal interpreters of the Spanish national sentiment and fortunate in the fulfillment of

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[144]"Con las armas en la mano y á viva fuerza rechazaban nuestros padres la invasión musulmana; con leyes prohibitivas procuraban defenderse de aquella invasión judaica, que pacífica en la apariencia, era considerada por el instinto popular como un cáncer incurable, que había de concluir tarde ó temprano con la existencia de la nacionalidad española. Es en la historia un singular fenómeno…" Ibid., 101.

[145]"los desventurados hijos del pueblo deicida." Ibid.

[146]"El pueblo judío es en la historia un singular fenómeno…y era que el pueblo judío por su especialísimo carácter, por sus tendencias y por el aislamiento en que voluntariamente se encerraba, venía a ser en el seno de la sociedad genuinamente española, desde los tiempos del reino visigótico hasta el día mismo de la conquista de Granada, un cuerpo verdadamente extraño, que dificultaba é impedía en todas ocasiones y por artes diversas el movimiento y desarrollo del espíritu español, esencialmente cristiano." Ibid., 102.

their patriotic aspirations."[147] While the edict of expulsion, "which expelled the Jewish race from Spanish dominions, allowed them to achieve the desired national unity for Spain." This outcome, Commelerán y Gómez declared, was a "natural and logical consequence",[148] while "all the historians and politicians who had criticized the expulsion through the ages as a sign of unbridled fanaticism" had misunderstood the "merit and splendor of Spain's most legitimate glories."[149] Such a view of the Jews' tenure in the Iberian Peninsula not only reflected their conceptulization in the ideology of neo-Catholicism, but soon would come to define their place in twentieth-century Spanish national Catholicism.

Conclusion

While Fernández y González's scholarship may have been highly regarded among many of his contemporaries, nonetheless, the importance of the legacy of his theories regarding Iberian "Semitic" hybridity was not immediately apparent. In 1913, when he turned eighty, Jerónimo Bécker, editor of the Conservative Madrid periodical *La Época* (effectively an organ of the Conservative Party) and Numerary academic of the Real Academia de la Historia, paid homage

[147]"á quienes la historia reconoce como fidelísimos intérpretes del sentimiento nacional español y afortunados cumplidores de sus patrióticas aspiraciones." Ibid., 102.

[148]Fueran los que en 31 de Marzo de 1492, á los tres meses de la conquista de Granada, firmaron el famoso edicto expulsando á la raza judaica de los dominios españoles, como si hubieran querido con esta disposición trascendentalísima completar la obra gloriosa de la unidad nacional llevado por ellos á término feliz con tanta prudencia y tacto político, y á costa de tantos y tan grandes sacrificios…llega un momento en que definitivamente y por la lógica natural de las cosas, se la expulsa de nuestro territorio." Ibid.

[149]"en ese hecho tan diversamente juzgado por los historiadores y políticos de todas las edades y naciones, aun admitida la indefendible hipótesis, que supone á nuestro pueblo sumido á la sazón en la más espantosa barbarie, no puede en mi concepto verse el triunfo de la intolerancia fanática de que por lo general de la justa y noble aspiración de un pueblo, que llegado á la mayor edad y sintiéndose fuerte y vigoroso para vivir por su cuenta y riesgo y arrostrar por consiguiente la responsabilidad de sus actos ante la historia, pretende romper los lazos de una tutoría oficiosa y humillante, contra la cual protestaba con energía el pueblo español, porque dejándole la responsabilidad de sus desaciertos, deslustraba y empequeñecía el mérito y esplendor de sus glorias más legítimas." Ibid.

to Francisco Fernández y González in a lengthy article under the heading: "a homage of respect and admiration for one of the men who in the last sixty year has most greatly honored his patria."[150] Bécker, acknowledging the importance of Fernández y González's study of Spanish Jewry and Islam wrote the following:

> Sr. Fernández y González did not miss even a day of working with great efficiency at the university, the Academies and in the Parliament, through his books, journals and speeches, not only in order to extend and spread our culture, but to aggrandize it; deepening the knowledge of our peninsular civilizations. An eminent philologist and Orientalist, his studies about History, Literature and the Institutions of the Muslim and Jewish peoples, have produced a truly profound change of ideas regarding terribly important periods of our national life. They have been so many, and so valuable."[151]

Among the specific works Bécker deemed worthy of specific mention as Fernández y González's "principal" accomplishments were las *Instituciones jurídicas del pueblo de Israel en los diferentes Estados de la Península ibérica* as well as his translation and comments of *Ordenamiento de las aljamas judías*."[152] Such statements by a Cánovista conservative like Bécker are illuminating as they suggest how the study of the Jewish past was valued even by some moderate status quo Restoration conservatives. Bécker ended his homage by wishing that "God would preserve Fernández y González's precious life" so that he would be able to "offer new contributions to Spanish science." The bringing together of science and god, as seen in

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[150] Jerónimo Bécker, "Un homenaje de respeto y de admiración á uno de los hombres que en los últimos sesenta años mas han honrado á su patria." *BRAH* 71:1-3 (Jul.-Sep- 1917): 253. Bécker also served as director of the *Archivo y Biblioteca del Ministerio de Estado* between 1900 y 1924.

[151] no ha dejado un solo día de trabajar con grandísima eficacia en la cátedra, e las Academias y en el Parlamento, por medio de los libros, de las revistas y de los discursos, no sólo para extender y divulgar la cultura, sino para agrandarla, ahondando en le conocimiento de las civilizaciones peninsulares. Filólogo y orientalista eminente, sus estudios sobre la Historia, la Literatura y las Instituciones de los pueblos musulmán y judío, que han producido un verdadero profundo cambio de las ideas acerca de importantísimos períodos de nuestra vida nacional, han sido tantos y tan valiosos," Ibid.

[152] La enumeración de sus obras ocuparía un espacio de que no es posible disponer en un diario político, porque su laboriosidad ha sido tan grande y su fecundidad tan maravillosa, que suman aquéllas más de un centenar; pero no queremos dejar de hacer mención de algunas de las principales", Ibid., 253-254.

other homages, served as further testament to the prominence of religion as a central assumption and concern of the "scientific" Liberal Spanish state.[153]

Francisco Fernández y González continued to hold his professorship of aesthetics at the Universidad Central of Madrid and remained active in the various scholarly academies of which he was a member where he apparently continued to "prove his great intelligence and extraordinary culture."[154] An article in the RAH's charter exempted him from having to attend the sessions at the RAH, in a special gesture of appreciation, while it also counted him as "present" as a reward for his "extensive and eminent services to the Academy" (noting that he had attended more than 1.887 sessions, apparently the "highest number registered of any other Académico since its creation").[155]

Fernández y González died in Madrid on the thirtieth of June 1917.[156] Beyond these notices in the BRAH and Bécker's words of praise, there is little indication of commemorative speeches, events or significant publicity of his death, as was the case with his colleagues dedicated to the recovery of the Jewish past. As Bécker had stated in his homage, Fernández y González's achievements had granted him a "greater reputation abroad than in his own patria",

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[153]"al reiterarle hoy, con motivo de su compleaños, el homenaje de nuestro afecto y de nuestra admiración, pedimos á Dios conserve su preciosa vida, para que pueda prestar nuevos servicios á la ciencia española." Ibid., 254.

[154]"Hoy, á pesar de su avanzada edad y del desgaste que forzosamente han tenido que producir en su naturaleza tan continuados estudios, sigue desempeñando en la Universidad Central la cátedra de Estética, y concurre á las Academias de que forma parte, y en una y otras continúa dando pruebas de su gran inteligencia y de su extraordinaria cultura." Ibid., 254.

[155]"Por último, á propuesta del infrascrito Secretario accidental, en la sesión del 29 de Noviembre de 1912 se le aplicó el art. 73 de nuestro Reglamento, dispensándosele la asistencia á nuestros actos ordinarios, mas teniéndolo presente, en premio de sus dilatados y eminentes servicios al Cuerpo. Hasta entonces ejerció el cargo de Censor, para el que fué continuadamente elegido durante una dilatada serie de trienios. Sus asistencias á nuestras sesiones alcanzaron el número de 1.887, el mayor que ningún otro Académico ha registrado desde la creación del Cuerpo." Ibid., 255.

[156] "el decano á la cabeza de la lista de los Académicos de número, habiendo ostentado este título durante cincuenta años (medio siglo) menos cuatro meses y veinte días." Ibid., 253.

further indication that in Spain, Fernádez y González's accomplishments and contributions to the understanding of Spanish history and multiethnic past had at least for the moment, been overlooked. [157]

While this indeed appears to have been the case, it is difficult to imagine that Francisco Fernández's groundbreaking theories of Iberian Semtitic-hybridity, in its focus in the Spanish context, did not serve as an important precedent for both later Republican leftist visions of Spanish history focused on Convivencia (e.g. Americo Castro) as well as for right wing Sephardism and Hispanidad (e.g. Ernesto Gimenez Caballero). Similarly, the debates which Fernández y González's work inspired, and its contribution to the racialist thinking of theories of Iberian hybridity and neo-Catholicism alike, prefigured elements of the ideological struggles that would take more volatile, and violent, forms in Spain in the future.

[157]"que le han creado un reputación más grande aun en el extranjero que en su propia patria, porque aquí solemos desdeñar lo que tenemos, hasta que desde fuera nos enseñan a estimarlo y reverenciarlo… Dotado de una erudición verdaderamente benedictina, en el mismo grado que la Filología, le son deudoras de grandes servicios y de notables progresos la Historia, la crítica literaria, la ciencia de lo bello y la jurisprudencia." Ibid., 254.

Chapter IV

Reclaiming Sepharad:

Spain's Jewish Past Between *Sefardismo* and *Hispanidad*

On September 1, 1929, Ernesto Giménez Caballero, founder and editor of *La Gaceta Literaria*[1], Spain's leading vanguard literary and cultural journal, embarked on what was referred to in the *Gaceta* as a "long and singular voyage of national and literary transcendence."[2] At the insistence of nationally acclaimed scholars of Sephardic history and culture, the Spanish Ministry of State sponsored Giménez Caballero's trip, which was intended to assess the situation of the Sephardic communities of Europe and Asia Minor, the possibilities for Spanish commercial and cultural expansion in the region, and the success of Spain's prior philosephardic campaigns among descendants of Spain's expelled Jews. Giménez Caballero's mission took him to Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Salonika, Turkey, and Paris. In all these places, he visited Jewish schools, residential quarters, synagogues, and cemeteries, and interviewed Sephardim from community leaders and members of the cosmopolitan commercial class, to common folk. Upon his return, Giménez Caballero published a series of accounts based on his travels, first in the *Gaceta*, and then, after later trips of a similar nature, in a report that he wrote for the Junta de Relaciones Culturales of the Spanish Ministry of State titled *Nuevas informaciones sobre los sefardíes del próximo oriente* (1931). Moreover, not limiting himself to written genres, he

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[1] *La Gaceta Literaria: ibérica-americana-internacional: letras, arte, ciencia* (Madrid, 1927- 1929), republished by Ed. Turner (Madrid, 1980), the edition to which I refer in this chapter. From this point on, I cite the *Gaceta Literaria* as GL.

[2] ' . . . largo y singular viaje de trascendencia nacional y literaria", Juan Piqueras "Los raids literarios: Giménez Caballero parte al mundo sefardí." *GL* 3:65 (1929): 1/423.

produced a film, *Los judíos de patria española* (1929), based on his travels and his involvement back in Spain in the "Sephardic cause."[3]

In this chapter, I argue that "Sepharad" played a central role in the efforts made by Spanish politicians and intellectuals to elaborate a vision of a New Spain and Hispanic identity in the wake of the loss of Empire in 1898 and shortly before the outbreak of Spain's civil war in 1936. Such efforts, and the elaboration of Hispanidad in this context, were moreover connected to the reemergence of an imperial agenda in Spain and the rise of "scientific racism" and Orientalist discourse.[4] Ernesto Giménez Caballero's Sephardic crusade is especially notable given his political career in the wake of his travels. By the 1930s, he would emerge as a pioneer of the Spanish fascist movement, a political commitment that eventually led him to curtail his earlier advocacy of Spain's Sephardim. The episodic and fractured story of Giménez Caballero's Sephardism is nonetheless quite representative of the nature of Spain's political and cultural Sephardist efforts whether in the area of scholarship or political campaigns.

This chapter probes the ways the different approaches to the scholarly study of the Jewish past, examined in the earlier chapters, had come to bear on these developments in more overtly political and ideological ways. I study this heightened politicization through the discourse and projects of *Sefardismo* (Sephardism) and *Hispanidad*, which I explore as parallel national and transnational projects. These projects unfolded in the context of Spain's loss of its final overseas possessions by 1898, which brought about a magnified existential and political crisis leading to neo-colonial efforts to expand Spain's borders beyond the national territory. Both projects were

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[3]The film was restored and digitalized by "The National Center for Jewish Film" at Brandeis University in collaboration with the Filmoteca Española and its Spanish captions translated to English by Jonathan P. Decter and Fatima Serra.

[4]See Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood;* Rohr, "Spaniards of the Jewish Type"; and Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations.*

moreover informed by the rise of racialist thought in Spain and connected through a shared interim space of collective soul searching across the political spectrum in an effort to invent a new Spain, during a period of relative calm before the storm as tensions continued to brew beneath the surface auguring the irreparable breach of the Civil War in 1936.

The scholarly foundations of the recovery of the Jewish past in Spain moreover created a context for the emergence of growing public and political Sephardism, such as the well documented "Philosephardic" campaigns of Liberal Spanish Senator and medical doctor, Ángel Pulido Fernández,[5] from the turn of the century through the mid-twentieth-century. I illustrate these broader cultural and political developments through the exploration of specific episodes of concerted attempts to reclaim the Sephardic past in early to mid twentieth-century Spain. These episodes may be located within quite diverse contexts: from the (seemingly) politically agnostic, cosmopolitan and pluralistic domain of the Spanish avant-garde, to that of an emergent Spanish fascism, as well as within the struggle for the endurance of Spanish Republicanism. In these contexts, Jews and Spaniards traversed borders, negotiated identities and shared histories, in which Sephardim became not only objects of study, but political objects, as well as actors in the reclamation of the Spanish past. The tensions and ambivalence surrounding the question of the identity of those who became involved in the task of recovering the nation's Jewish past would resurface in these re-encounters, and projects of historical recovery. I return to the academic sphere to demonstrate how Spain's heightened political tensions came to bear upon the scholarly project of recovering the Jewish past, even as Judaic studies became more established in Spain.

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[5]See Ángel Pulido Fernández *Españoles sin patria y la raza sefardí* (Madrid, 1905), and *Los israelitas españoles y el idioma castellano* (Madrid, 1904). See also Isabelle Rohr, "'Spaniards of the Jewish Type': Philosephardism in the Service of Imperialism in Early Twentieth-Century Spanish Morocco, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12:1 (May 2011): 61-75; Goode, *Impurity of Blood*; and Alisa Meyuhas Ginio, "Reencuentro y despedida: Dr. Ángel Pulido Fernández y la diáspora sefardí," Raanan Rein, ed., *España e Israel: veinte años después* (Madrid, 2007), 57-66.

In this chapter I will explore the connections between Sephardism and Hispanidad during the first third of the twentieth century. I do so through the discussion of three notable case studies or episodes in the history of Spanish Sephardism. These cases focus on: the appointment of Jewish Orientalist Abraham Shalom Yahuda as a Chair of Jewish Studies at the University of Madrid in 1914; the Sephardist project of Ernesto Giménez Caballero, founder and editor of *La Gaceta Literaria* and a pioneer of Spanish fascism; and finally the commemoration of the eighth centennial of Maimonides in Cordoba in 1935.

On a broader level, I hope to illustrate how such efforts illuminate longstanding debates over the place of the Jews in a Spanish patria, and about the construction of a Spanish nation over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, a study of these three cases exposes the ways the ambivalence attached to such efforts, made such attempts fragile, ultimately succeeding not so much in reclaiming Sepharad, as in expressing the continued ambivalence of Spain toward its Jewish past, and perhaps illuminating the fractured and inconclusive nature of Spain itself.

I. A.S. Yahuda: A Jewish Orientalist in Spain

In 1914, the Jewish Orientalist and Biblical scholar Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951) was appointed *Catedrático numerario especial de Lengua y Literatura rabínicas* (Special Numerary Chair of "Rabbincial Hebrew Language and Literature") at the University of Madrid by a royal decree issued by King Alfonso XIII.[6] Yahuda's appointment was notable for several reasons. He was the first Jew to be appointed to a professorship at a modern Spanish university. Moreover, during his time in Spain, Yahuda became a public advocate for Sephardic and world

[6]For the Royal Order see, *Gaceta de Madrid* 4:341 (7 Dec. 1915): 625.

Jewry—as well as an outspoken hispanophile. Finally, while his appointment was endorsed by the Spanish government in conjunction with influential scholars of the RAH and the University of Madrid, his Jewishness became an issue of debate and discontent in other less welcoming quarters, leading to a series of academic intrigues against him that led Yahuda to publicly tender his resignation from his position in 1920.

The dramatic nature of A. S. Yahuda's entry to Spanish academia and his eventual exit from it attracted considerable public attention. His unique position as a brilliant scholar and a Sephardic Jew at a Spanish university was the subject of frequent comment by Spaniards and Jews both within and outside of Spain, encouraged in no small part by Yahuda's own penchant for presenting himself in romantic, even flamboyant, ways. An article and interview with Yahuda in the British *Jewish Chronicle*, written on the occasion of his arrival in London on a "scientific mission", noted that he was "One of the most romantic figures of the Jewish world" of his time.[7] In a bibliographical pamphlet he had authored on the occasion of Yahuda's arrival in the United States in 1941 for a lecture tour, Jewish publicist Arthur Meyerowitz claimed that: "Among the several Jewish scholars who have come to our shores in recent years, there is none as colorful a personality as Dr. Yahuda. He represents the happiest blending of the ancient wisdom of the Orient with the modern methods of scientific research. Dr. Yahuda is an Orientalist in the true sense of the word, for he is the undisputed master of the languages and literatures of the Hebrews, Arabs, Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, etc."[8]

Yahuda's background was as unique as his scholarly credentials. Meyerowitz described Yahuda, who was born in Jerusalem to British-born parents in 1877, as a "descendant of an

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[7]A. S. Yahuda, "Jewish Learning and Life in Spain: Interview for the *Jewish Chronicle* with Prof. Dr. A.S. Yahuda," (London, 1919).

[8]Arthur Meyerowitz, "Some Biographical Notes on Professor Abraham Shalom Ezekiel Yahuda" (1941).

illustrious Hispano-Jewish family" whose members "for centuries lived and flourished in Bagdad, Bassora, Calcutta and Jerusalem." His family tree reached "as far back as the Gaonim of Babylon on one side, and on the other side to Spanish ancestry as far back as the twelfth century;"[9] a maternal ancestor of Professor Yahuda's father "even held high office at the Court of Alfonso VIII of Castille (1166-1214)."[10] An interview conducted in London for *The Jewish Chronicle*, referring to Yahuda's relative, noted that "it is a curious coincidence that his distinguished descendant should once more serve an Alfonso on the throne of Spain."[11] While clearly phrased in such a way to create the greatest effect, the notion that Yahuda was "serving" the king of Spain was also indicative of Jewish-English assimilationist and colonial mores, as well as one might hazard, a Jewish diasporic history predicated on the idea of the Jews as "servants of Kings." The anonymous reporter for the *Chronicle*, clearly taken with Yahuda, moreover stressed the Orientalist's Britishness, describing him as "tall and massively built, and though his complexion betrays his Oriental birth . . . he has typically British features. He is rather proud of being a British subject, his father and grandfather having been born on British soil . . ." The interview apparently took place during a raging snowstorm, and, observing the weather, Yahuda remarked that, "having spent so many years in sunshine, he could stand a brief spell of English weather at its worst."[12]

Characterizations of Yahuda stressed his "Oriental wisdom" and mentioned his unusually precocious aptitude for the subjects of his scholarship. According to Meyerowitz, Yahuda had translated the book of Daniel when he was "hardly a lad of ten" from the Aramaic original into

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[9]Ibid.

[10]A. S. Yahuda, "Interview for the Jewish Chronicle."

[11]Ibid.

[12]A. S. Yahuda, "Interview for the Jewish Chronicle."

the Biblical Hebrew, while at the age of sixteen he published a book on the history of the Arabs before Mohammed.[13] He was moreover a model cosmopolitan who had received his education in Palestine and England, eventually pursuing study of the Near East and Biblical scholarship in the German universities of Heidelberg and Strasbourg. His fields of study ranged from Semitic languages and philology, to Arabic culture and Islam, and Muslim Spain, with a specialization on the history and literature of the Jews of Spain. From 1905 to 1914, A. S. Yahuda was Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Semitic Philology at the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin and was also appointed a lecturer for Arabic at the *Orientalische* Seminar of the University of Berlin.[14]

Yahuda's connection to contemporary Spain was fostered by events on the international stage, specifically—as Yahuda would write decades later—the Algeciras Conference of 1906, which brought 25,000 Jews in Northern Morocco under Spanish rule. At the same, Yahuda became convinced that the Spanish Sephardist movement that had emerged under the leadership of men like Ángel Pulido, was a pragmatic project, that moved beyond a "sentimental and idealistic conception" of the Sephardim, to offer real benefits to the descendants of Spain's expelled Jews.[15] In attempting to secure the confidence of the newly conquered Jews, Yahuda explained, the "Liberals and intellectuals were anxious to mark their emancipation from the bad traditions of the past and to demonstrate their disapproval for the acts of the Inquisition and the

[13]Arthur Meyerowitz, "Some Biographical Notes."

[14]Ibid.; *Gaceta de Madrid* 4:341 (7 Dec. 1915): 625-628; and *BRAH* 65:5 (1 Oct. 1914): 415-419.

[15]A. S. Yahuda, "Interview for the *Jewish Chronicle*;" A. S. Yahuda, "King Alfonso XIII and the Jews and his Action in Saving Palestine Jewry from Wholesale Evacuation" (New York, 1941); *BRAH* 67:6 (Dec. 1915).

expulsion of the Jews . . . . " Thus, they deemed it "very useful if they were to invite a scholar of Sephardic extraction to deliver a series of lectures on Jewish history and literature."[16]

It was in this context, at the end of 1913, that Yahuda was first invited to Spain to deliver a series of lectures.[17] Those lectures prove to be quite successful, attended by what Yahuda referred to as the "best elements of Madrid society." Moreover, King Alfonso XIII approached him afterwards to inquire into whether might be possible to "retain [Yahuda's] services for Spain." Yahuda agreed to accept the offer to come to Spain upon the condition that a chair be created for him at the University of Madrid. In 1915, all of Spain's major official "scientific" institutions, including The Real Academia de la Historia, the Real Academia Española, The Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at Madrid's Universidad Central and other University officials, and the Council of Public Education (*Consejo de Instrucción Pública*) officially signed on to the Royal Order and the government's mandate issued by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts (*Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes*) to appoint A.S. Yahuda to the Chair. For its approval, the measure required the creation and passing of a special law enabling Yahuda to hold an official position in Spain, despite the fact he was not a Spanish citizen.

The official government periodical, the *Gaceta de Madrid*, in fact published official news of Yahuda's appointment and the public declaration of all the official institutions involved on the cover page of the newspaper. The RAH—whose president, Fidel Fita, had played an active role in securing the position for Yahuda[18]—saluted Yahuda's distinguished record of publications and his recent lectures in Spain, and his work on "Spain's rabbinic culture, before the expulsion

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[16] A.S. Yahuda, *Interview for the Jewish Chronicle*.

[17] *BRAH* 65:5 (1 Oct. 1914): 415-419.

[18] "Professor Yahuda Vindicated," *The Reform Advocate* 59 (5 Jun. 1920), 413-415.

of a race that had lived alongside us for many centuries, and had played an active part in all of the great historical developments of their onetime Kingdoms." Crediting Yahuda's "deep wisdom in the sciences of his religion, its mother tongue and its literature, in relation to that of the other peoples among whom the Jews expelled from Spain have lived, and still live . . .," the RAH declared his appointment to be "inestimably important to the national interest," as part of the "regeneration of our general History, in all of its areas . . . ."[19]

For his part, Yahuda accepted with enthusiasm the offer to participate in Spain's efforts to study and reexamine the Sephardic past. He took this not only as an opportunity to advocate in Spain on behalf of the Sephardim and Jews in general, but also to become a passionate advocate for Spain, a Sephardic hispanist—an advocate for Spain as a welcoming, tolerant country which had rid itself of the spirit of the Inquisition, Torquemada and the Expulsion. In his later recollections, Yahuda explained that the Spanish government and King Alfonso had "devised a manifest policy of sympathy with the Jews" because the "Jewish world was ignorant of modern Spain, still apprehensive of the country of the Inquisition" and because the Jews in this area of Morocco had "considerably helped Spain to get a stronghold in that part of Morocco, economically as well as politically." Such developments had led many Spaniards—most notably Angel Pulido, but with him "very prominent Spaniards of all classes and all political shades, including the clergy and the most conservative elements among the nobility"—to undertake a "movement in favor of establishing a close relations with these 'lost sons of Spain.'" As one such "lost son," Yahuda welcomed and accepted the offered chair at the University of Madrid,

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[19]" . . . á la obra insigne de la regeneración de nuestra Historia general en todos los ramos que con su desarrollo durante tantos siglos de existencia se relaciona . . . la cultura rabínica en España antes de la expulsión de una raza que había convivido con nosotros desde remotos siglos y tomado parte activa en todas las grandes evoluciones históricas de sus antiguos Reinos, no sin más que una mera muestra de las alta sabiduría que en las ciencias de su religión, de su lengua madre y de su literatura, en relación con la de los demás pueblos en cuyo seno los judíos expulsados de España han convivido y conviven . . ." *Gaceta de Madrid* 4:341 (7 Dec. 1915): 625-628.

which he interpreted "not only as a friendly gesture, but also in view of the important part the Jews have played many centuries in Spain in all fields of science, literature and other walks of life."[20]

During his time at the University of Madrid, A. S. Yahuda played an active role in the development of Sephardic studies at the university level. He took pride in having "a goodly number of students, although Christians"—as instruction in Hebrew was mandatory for all students who were to graduate with a doctorate in letters. He moreover remarked that "the Spaniards have a remarkable facility for learning Hebrew, which they acquire more readily than any other Semitic language, even more readily than Arabic." Yahuda even claimed to have a few students who were completely fluent in Hebrew, and who were working on scholarly translations of medieval Hebrew texts into Spanish. It was his hope that in time, he might assemble a "band of well trained students" that could collaborate with him in writing a new history of the Spanish Jews, as he believed that major lacunae remained in this area.[21]

Yahuda also continued to dedicate himself to pursuing his research on Spain's Jewish past. Encouraged by the King's enthusiasm for Jewish sites in Spain—particularly the synagogue in Toledo, where the monarch often took royal guests for visits and had a special plaque installed calling for the site's preservation—Yahuda collaborated with Spaniards in searching out Jewish antiquities. As he later recalled,

> One day I discovered a number of fragments of Hebrew tombstones in the cellar of the church of San Juan de los Reyes, built to the memory of Fernando and Isabella. They were the only remains from the old Jewish cemetery, which was still partly in existence in the 17th century, when an Italian clergyman copied 76 tomb inscriptions of the most prominent men and women in the 13th and 14th centuries. It was then with the consent of King Alfonso, that those fragments were transferred from the cellar to the synagogue.

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[20] A. S. Yahuda, "King Alfonso XIII and the Jews."

[21] A. S. Yahuda, "Interview for the *Jewish Chronicle*."

Yahuda recalled conversing with King Alfonso and royal visitors about Jewish sites, antiquities, and literary figures like Yehuda Halevi, and also advocated for the creation of a library that might be created to contain all the Hebrew works of the authors and poets who lived in Toledo. A. S. Yahuda enlisted the support of the Toledo patrician, the Conde de Cedillo, in bringing together such a library, and—to the extent possible given wartime conditions—began to collect books and materials in a room adjoining the synagogue.[22]

Alongside his work as a researcher and as a university professor, Yahuda also took his time in Spain and especially his close relationship with King Alfonso as an opportunity to pursue advocacy on behalf of Sephardic populations, especially given the difficulties they faced during World War I. Yahuda interceded with Alfonso—whom he found to be "very benevolent towards his new Jewish subjects in Spanish Morocco," and committed to the idea that "all his subjects were Spaniards, entitled to equal rights and equal treatment"—on behalf of Moroccan Jews, perhaps most notably when they faced the prejudicial actions of a Spanish official in Tetuan who had "committed an onslaught against the Jews . . . ." Yahuda also pressed the King to act on behalf of Jewish populations outside Morocco, as for instance in the case of 45,000 Palestinian Jews who faced a Turkish evacuation order in 1917. After Turkish forces began enforcing the evacuation of the Jews of Tel Aviv to Syria and elsewhere in Asia minor "with a cruelty which alarmed even the non-Jewish population of Palestine," Yahuda appealed to the Spanish prime minister, and the government of Argentina, to pressure Turkey to rescind the order. Then he met with King Alfonso, declaring to him that "30,000 Jews were imploring for his help in the

[22] A. S. Yahuda, "La Lápida bilingüe de Toledo," *BRAH* 66:6 (Jun. 1915): 582-585; A. S. Yahuda, "Nuevo hallazgo de una inscripción sepulcral hebraica en Toledo," *BRAH* 67:1-3 (Jul.-Aug. 1915): 149-156; A. S. Yahuda, "Hallazgo de pergaminos en Solsona: un capítulo sobre la poesía hebraica religiosa de España," *BRAH* 67:6 (Dec. 1915): 513-549; *BRAH* 74:3 (Mar. 1919): 294.

language which they retained from the days their ancestors lived in Spain; and I displayed all the eloquence with which the terrifying ordeal threatening the Jews in Palestine could inspire me." After the King, according to Yahuda swayed by Yahuda's arguments, lent his support to a European campaign to pressure Turkey to relent, Kamal Pasha, the Turkish commander in Jerusalem rescinded the evacuation order—even as he urged the leaders and Rabbis to send telegrams to all neutral countries to protest against the "atrocity campaign" carried out against him by the Allied propaganda."[23]

Despite such notable accomplishments, Yahuda's tenure at the University of Madrid was not a long one, ending in controversy in 1920. The circumstances of A.S. Yahuda's abrupt departure from Spain reveal heated controversy over his continued appointment at the university and created quite a sensation and potential public relations scandal for Spain. Apparently, Yahuda's privileged position at the university created several enemies in addition to his many admirers. Yahuda was granted a four week leave of absence by the government in order to accept a 1918 invitation from the Portuguese Geographical Society to deliver a lecture on the work of Jewish mathematicians, geographers and nautologists in Spain. During his absence—in the version of the story conveyed in subsequent interviews with Yahuda—his enemies in the faculty began to publicize their intrigues by claiming that Yahuda had neglected the duties of the faculty and preferred to travel for his own ends. When Yahuda asked for a new leave of absence, in 1919, this time to go to England to complete some research, the Faculty of Letters discussed the issue in a heated manner. Several faculty members proposed to reject the petition. Notably, Yahuda was not invited to this meeting and was unaware of its taking place and only learned of it afterwards.

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[23] A. S. Yahuda, "King Alfonso XIII and the Jews;" and A. S. Yahuda, "Ha-hagana al ha-Yashuv be-Milhemet ha-Olam ha-Rishona: Zihronot me-Yaemei Shehuti be-Sefarad" (Jerusalem, 1951).

Yahuda eventually obtained his desired leave of absence and left Spain for England in April, 1919. He remained there until January of 1920 and during his stay requested a prolongation of his leave. The question of his renewal once again sparked heated debate in the Faculty and Yahuda was not given an opportunity to defend himself. Yahuda's high academic profile, led to the intervention of the Spanish ambassador to England, Señor Merry del Val, who in appealing to Spain's Minister of Foreign Affairs argued for the prolongation of Yahuda's stay in England as being in Spain's interest. He argued that Yahuda had to attend to numerous prestigious invitations from England's top universities, and literary and scientific societies to deliver lectures many of which the ambassador had apparently attended. Moreover, he argued these invitations held not only scholarly, but "a great political interest, being instrumental, in a very efficient manner, in the establishing of closer and friendlier relations between England and Spain."[24] At the time of this intervention the celebrated Spanish statesman and philosephardist, Condé Romanones, wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to confirm the Ambassador's view and add his own flattery of Yahuda's activities in England. The matter was for the moment resolved, as the Spanish Ministry, without consulting the Faculty and the Supreme Council for Public Instruction, submitted an order for royal signature granting Yahuda's request for a prolongation of his leave till the end of the year. The unfortunate reason provided however was that he "had to attend to private affairs in London."[25] Moreover, rumors began to circulate back in Madrid that he "calmly drew his salary" while avoiding his academic responsibilities in Spain and neglecting his stated research plans."[26]

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[24]"Professor Yahuda Vindicated."

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.

On his return to Spain, Yahuda reportedly became aware of the animosity towards him in the faculty and the rumors that had been circulating. Having been invited to England the following spring and summer for several lectures he requested yet another leave of absence which the Spanish ambassador and several prominent politicians apparently encouraged him to accept. In this context, he attended the faculty meeting which was to deal with his request for a leave and announced to all present that in a letter to the Minister of Public Instruction he had just tendered his resignation. He furthermore delivered an impassioned speech to the faculty which addressed his and their grievances, as paraphrased in an article on Yahuda's "vindication" in the *Reform Advocate*:

> What did they reproach him for? He abandoned his Chair for attending to his private affairs! Private affairs, indeed when he worked in England for the moral interest and scientific renown of Spain. He lived on the fat of the land! For his period of absence, although rendering assiduous service to Spain, which was warmly recognized and highly praised by such men as Señor Merry del Val and Count Romanones, he received not one penny, but on the contrary, paid out of his own pocket a deputy who occupied his Chair in his absence. What did they expect of him when they called him to his Chair? That he would train pupils, stimulate them to produce scientific labors, and realize himself personal research and original work in the field of his specialty.

He continued to enumerate his many services at the university including his work with students in the faculty and collaboration on several publications with them on the literature and history of the Jews of Spain. He further justified the reasons he needed to travel to other countries to make use of their resources to support such important research because the bibliographical sources in Spain were scanty and incomplete. Given the unexpected resistance he encountered in the faculty he felt compelled "to his great regret, to resign a post which he had accepted with so much enthusiasm."[27]

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[27]Ibid.

The case assumed even more publicity when the British ambassador in Madrid "in the name of His Majesty's Government" officially requested the Spanish government to grant Yahuda the leave so he could share his new research on the Pentateuch with British scholars. Upon receiving the news, the dean, Professor Torno, asked the Faculty to reconsider and a new vote was held. The vote, however, satisfied neither Torno nor Yahuda. Torno, who was also a member of the Senate, addressed the situation at the next session of the Senate:

> I hope to be seconded by the general opinion of the Senate, as this cause is of great interest for the good renown and the prestige of the new Spain, so different from the old. What can be finer than to enlarge our spiritual horizon in a period which has witnessed the narrowing of the material limits of the territories subject to our sovereignty? We must think of that great Spain which embraces the Sephradim of the three Continents of Europe, Near Asia, and North Africa, and calls to intellectual reconcilement and fraternal affection the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of those countries beyond the Atlantic which once had been Spanish.[28]

The Minister of Public Instruction, Señor Rivas, apparently responded very favorably to this speech, in which he recognized Spain's interests in retaining Yahuda's labors: "Professor Yahuda…confers a boon to Spain, showing that we are calumnied abroad when foreigners speak of our intolerance, and that a British subject may teach at the Spanish Central University without having to give up his nationality, that a Sephardi may live and work in full confraternity with us." He thus assured the dean that he would not accept Yahuda's resignation and would ask him to withdraw it.[29] Why Yahuda refused to stay in Madrid remains unclear. What is clear, however, was that his retention was deemed of national interest for Spain and that the importance of the Sephardic past yet again made its way into public discourse over Spain's character and reputation. Yahuda for his part, in his speech to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, reminded his colleagues that he was Spain's most ardent Hispanist—what is more, a Sephardic Hispanist.

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[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

Indeed, during his days as a professor in Madrid, A.S. Yahuda not only advocated for the Sephardim and other Jews, but became a passionate advocate for Spain who labored to create an image of a welcoming, tolerant country. His departure, regardless of its peaceful denouement, would cast a shadow on such an image. Even in Yahuda's absence, though, the study of Hebrew and Spain's medieval past continued to flourish at the University of Madrid and eventually other Spanish universities—albeit as an enterprise, once again, of non-Jewish faculty and students.

II. Ernesto Giménez Caballero's Sephardist Crusade

Born into a petit bourgeois family in Madrid on August 2, 1899, Ernesto Giménez Caballero was immersed in the atmosphere of pessimism about the "Disaster" of 1898. His intellectual formation took place in the context of the political and cultural movements that emerged from the Disaster and the collapse of liberalism, and particularly Regenerationism. Regenerationism sought to explain Spain's defeat while advocating a formula of "national renewal." While all Regenerationist discourse called for change and progress, ideas about how to achieve such change assumed disparate forms corresponding to the politics of their authors. These views ranged from arguments for Spain's modernization and Europeanization to the belief that Spain must return to its traditional values.[30] One factor these divergent approaches generally shared, however, was a biological determinism shaped by the rise of scientific racism. This factor would come to play a prominent role in the elaboration of Pan-Hispanic identity, or Hispanidad, and in Spanish neo-imperialist discourse.[31]

[30]Boyd*, Historia Patria*, 41-64 and Rohr, *The Spanish Right*, 10-37.

[31] Goode, *Impurity of Blood*, 76- 97 and Rohr, "Spaniards of the Jewish Type."

Much of Giménez Caballero's exposure to these ideas took place in the highly politicized climate of the University of Madrid (Complutense), which served as a nucleus of the Generation of 1898 and that of 1914. Giménez Caballero enrolled there in 1916, graduating with a degree in philology and then completing an additional year of graduate study in philosophy. In hindsight, Giménez Caballero described himself as a liberal and a socialist during this period, his ability to embrace both ideologies foreshadowing his future political ambivalence.[32] Nonetheless, more so than his supposed political affiliations at the time, his mentors at the university, among them philosopher José Ortega y Gasset and literary historians and philologists Américo Castro and Ramón Menéndez y Pidal, appear to have profoundly informed Giménez Caballero's subsequent political and intellectual formation.

The orientation of these intellectuals represented varied responses to the Disaster and attempts at regeneration, all of which Giménez Caballero would incorporate into his particular brand of Spanish nationalism. Ortega y Gasset's call for the Europeanization and even Aryanization of Spain as a remedy to her ills proved a topic that Giménez Caballero would struggle with and attempt to reconcile with his eventual rejection of internationalism. Américo Castro, who was at the center of Republican leftist politics and with whom Giménez Caballero became very close, inspired his interest in the importance of Spain's Muslim and Jewish past in the construction of a new Spain and Spanish identity.[33] The philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal's patriotic attempts to define the "essence of the nation" and encourage peninsular cultural and political unity, as witnessed in the mission of the Centro de Estudios Históricos and through

[32]In a 1971 letter to Douglas Foard, Giménez Caballero responded to the ambiguity of this political identification by claiming that Liberalism and Socialism were synonymous to him. Foard, *Revolt of the Aesthetes*, 29.

[33]Américo Castro contributed to the *Gaceta Literaria* and served as a witness to Giménez Caballero's marriage.

the documentation of the history of Castilian epic poetry, including the Sephardic romancero, informed the linguistic and cultural aspects and reach of Giménez Caballero's version of Hispanidad.[34] Perhaps most significantly, it was the tension and interplay between the recuperation of Spain's past, present-day concerns, and the projection of the nation's future—or as conceptualized by Shammah Gesser, "between essentialism and modernity"— in the work of his mentors that affected Giménez Caballero most decisively.[35]

Upon his graduation in 1920, Giménez Caballero accepted a teaching position at the University of Strasbourg, only to return abruptly to Spain in 1921 when conscripted for military service in Morocco. It was his tour of duty there, which came on the heels of a devastating Spanish military defeat,[36] that marked Giménez Caballero's emergence onto the madrileño literary scene with his publication of *Notas marruecas de un soldado* (1923).[37] In it, Giménez Caballero contends that a new Spain would rise from the ashes to regain its imperial glory, a hope that is at the center of his reinvention of Spanish nationalism. It was also during his time in Morocco that Giménez Caballero demonstrated an incipient interest in the Sephardim. The Sephardic Jews he encountered there captured his imagination and he generally wrote about

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[34]On the work of Ramón Menéndez Pidal and the Centro de Estudios Históricos see José María López Sánchez, *Heterodoxos españoles: el Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1910-1936* (Madrid, 2006); Javier Varela, *La novela de España: los intelectuales y el problema español* (Madrid, 1999); and Carolyn Boyd*, Historia Patria*.

[35]For discussion of this interplay and tension in early twentieth-century madrileño intellectual circles, see Silvina Shammah Gesser "Between Essentialism and Modernity: Aesthetics, Identities and Politics in Madrid's Cultural Scene, 1923-1936" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Tel Aviv University, 2006); and Shammah Gesser, "La imagen", 68.

[36]On this the major military defeat, known as the "disaster of Annual" (in which an estimated 20,000 Spanish soldiers were killed), and Spanish colonialism in Morocco, see Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford, 2002); and María Rosa de Madariaga, *España y el Rif: crónica de una historia casi olvidada* (Melilla, 2000) and *En el barranco del lobo: las guerras de Marruecos* (Madrid, 2005).

[37]Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Notas marruecas de un soldado* (Barcelona, 1923).

them with patronizing admiration.[38] He also managed to record romanceros preserved by Moroccan Sephardim, which he sent back to Madrid to his mentors Américo Castro and Menéndez Pidal.[39] This interest in the Sephardim and Spain's Jewish legacy assumed a focal position in the heightened nationalism and imperialism Giménez Caballero first presented in *Notas marruecas*.

The publication of *Notas marruecas* also landed him in jail as it was highly critical of the war and monarchy. While Giménez Caballero—assisted by his friend Américo Castro, who came to his aid upon his imprisonment—faced the prospect of serving an 18-year prison sentence, the charges against him were dropped in the wake of General Miguel Primo de Rivera's 1923 military pronunciamiento. He hastily returned to his post in Strasbourg. It was during this second period abroad that Giménez Caballero began to develop an opposition to the idea, defended by his former mentor Ortega y Gasset, that the remedy to Spain's woes would come from the "Europeanization" of the country. It is perhaps no coincidence that this rejection coincided with Giménez Caballero's marriage to Italian native and fascist sympathizer Edith Sironi Negri in 1924, a union that, alongside other developments, may have influenced his gravitation toward a new and decisive object of inspiration: fascist Italy.[40]

In 1924, Giménez Caballero returned to Spain, where he elaborated a quasi-folklorist Spanish nationalism which wrestled with his elder contemporaries' pessimistic indictment of Spain's backwardness.[41] He soon became swept up by the advent of European vanguardism in

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[38]Ibid., 179-180; Rohr, "Spaniards of the Jewish Type."

[39]Foard , *Revolt of the Aesthetes*, 37; Giménez Caballero, *Notas marruecas*, 131- 45.

[40]Foard, *Revolt of the Aesthetes*; Selva, *Ernesto Giménez Caballero*, 38-60.

[41]During this period, he published a series of articles in the daily *El Sol*, which later became his book *Los toros, las castañuelas y la Virgen* (Madrid, 1927). He was also thought to have written an unpublished nationalist tract titled *El fermento*. See Foard, *Revolt of the Aesthetes*, 46-7; and Selva *Ernesto Giménez Caballero*, 61-78.

Spain, as he joined the ranks of young Spanish intellectuals committed to the new politics and aesthetics of the movement.[42] It was in this context that he joined forces with prominent literary critic Guillermo de Torre in 1927 to create the *Gaceta Literaria*. Thought of as the principal organ of Spanish literary vanguardism, the *Gaceta* received contributions from Spain's leading writers and poets, sponsored book exhibitions, awarded literary prizes, and published books. It quickly established a wide readership and gained international recognition.[43]

Despite Giménez Caballero's affinities with the internationalist literary vanguard, however, Spanish national identity remained his central concern. Indeed, Giménez Caballero co-opted the international breadth of the movement for nationalistic purposes. Using the journal as his medium, Giménez Caballero in turn hoped to restore Spanish influence in the international arena and expand the influence of the Spanish patria beyond its national borders. At home, Caballero promoted Catalan revivalism and the resurrection of Catalan influence throughout the Mediterranean, as a means of creating a pan-Hispanic empire. He fostered Portuguese-Spanish relations as part of a vision of a reunited Iberian Peninsula and worked toward renewing Spain's influence in its former colonies in the Americas. Moreover, during the late 1920s, Caballero, along with some of Spain's leading intellectuals, made frequent trips to Europe and the Americas, promoting Spanish literature and culture to academics, politicians, and the wider public.

During one such trip, Giménez Caballero and Américo Castro lectured at a conference on Spanish culture held at the University of Berlin in the winter of 1927-1928. In this context, the *Gaceta Literaria* identified Giménez Caballero as the "intellectual ambassador for Spain" and

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[42]Giménez Caballero experimented with new art forms as seen in his avant-garde novel, *Yo, inspector de alcantarillas* (Madrid, 1928), considered by some to be the first Spanish surrealist novel.

[43]Selva, *Giménez Caballero* 70- 100; Foard, *Revolt of the Aesthetes*; Lucy Tandy and María Sferrazza, *Ernesto Giménez Caballero y "La Gaceta Literaria" o la Generación del 27* (Madrid, 1977).

Américo Castro as "our literary ambassador and maestro of a youthful Spain."[44] Indeed, by the summer of 1928, Giménez Caballero celebrated the journal's dissemination throughout Europe, a success, he boasted, that had been achieved without intoning the "mea culpa" of previous generations.[45] Through such means, Giménez Caballero began to advocate for a neo-imperialist agenda for Spain and elaborate a discourse of Hispanidad aimed at the reincorporation of all Hispanic peoples under Spanish leadership.

Giménez Caballero later claimed that he had in fact designed the *Gaceta Literaria* as an inclusive, pluralistic, and non-sectarian endeavor, one meant to gain knowledge of all of Spain and its "extensions" such as America and the Sephardic world.[46] While this assertion is obscured by Giménez Caballero's subsequent political evolution toward fascism, the appeal of the new cultural imperialism and attempts at regeneration that he presented in this seemingly apolitical—or politically agnostic—forum indeed guaranteed the endorsement of influential collaborators from across the political spectrum. The *Gaceta*, at least in its incipient stages, was unique to Spain in this period; it served as a crossroads and laboratory where many political views were presented and whose contributors seemed to share a collaborative spirit and vision in the common interest of national regeneration and renewal.

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[44]"el embajador intelectual"; "nuestro embajador literario y maestro de la jóven España", *GL* (1928): 1/237. Américo Castro's influence in the Gaceta proved significant and in addition to his own contributions to the journal, including an article on the Jews ("Judíos") that appeared in the first issue of the Gaceta, reports on his travels abroad were frequently featured, indicating the esteem in which he was held by Giménez Caballero. Américo Castro, "Judíos," *GL* 1:1 (1 Jan. 1927): 2.

[45]"aspiración o ideal casi inaccesible de otras generaciones y revistas . . . Y lo ha conseguido sin humillaciones serviles . . . y sin entonar el 'mea culpa' de las generaciones anteriores." Cesareo Fernández, "La literatura española en el extranjero: Giménez Caballero en Berlín," *GL* 2:37 (1 Jul. 1928): 1-2/231-232.

[46]Enrique Selva, "Autor/tema: autopercepción intelectual de un proceso histórico," *Anthropos: revista de documentación científica de la cultura* 84 (1988): 21-28. This interview was published in a volume of Anthropos dedicated to Giménez Caballero.

Giménez Caballero looked toward the Sephardic world with similar aspirations. With the support of his influential collaborators, he placed Sephardism on center stage within the *Gaceta*.[47] Reports about cultural events in the Sephardic world, reviews of books by Sephardic authors, and historical accounts about prominent Jewish figures in medieval Spain and their contribution to Spanish culture were featured, as well as essays advocating for a Spanish rapprochement with the Sephardic world, based on the presumably shared history and lineage of the two peoples. While the Sephardism conjured in the *Gaceta* as part and parcel of an encompassing Hispanidad assumed particular characteristics, it also built upon earlier Spanish philosephardic campaigns aimed at extending Spain's reach within the Sephardic world, accompanied by a romantic literary and scholarly sefardismo particular to some of Madrid's cultural elites.[48] Viewing himself as the successor to Ángel Pulido Fernández, who had brought national attention to the Sephardim through his well-documented campaigns, Giménez Caballero thus built upon his legacy by incorporating "Sepharad" into his elaboration of a neo-imperialistic variety of *Hispanidad*.

If contributors to the *Gaceta*, such as Giménez Caballero, linked their Sephardism to designs for regeneration and Pan-Hispanismo, the Orientalism characteristic of many Spanish Arabists of this period neatly overlapped with the interest in the Sephardism expressed in the

[47]The focus on Sepharad may have also been enhanced by the purchase of the *Gaceta literaria* by the Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, created by Madrid Jewish community leader and entrepreneur Ignacio Bauer y Landauer and the biographer of Ángel Púlido, Sephardist Manuel Ortega. Shemmah Gesser, "La imagen", 73.

[48]See: Isidro González, *El retorno de los judíos*; Antonio Lisbona, *Retorno a Sepharad*; and Rohr, *The Spanish Right*. On literary Sephardism see the efforts of Carmen de Burgos (a.k.a. Colombine) in the *Revista Crítica* and those of Cansinos Assens, *La novela de un literato: hombres, ideas, efemérides, anécdotas* (Madrid, 1982). On de Burgos see Paloma Castañeda, *Carmen de Burgos, "Colombine"* (Madrid, 1994).

Gaceta.[49] For example, in 1929, a frequent contributor to the journal and scholar of medieval Al-Andalus, writing under the pseudonym Gil Ben-Umeya (a clear allusion to Andalusi nobility of the Ummayad Caliphate), published an essay titled "Hacia un panorama sefardí" ("Toward a Sephardic Panorama").[50] Presenting an essentialist and romanticized view of the historical connections between Spain and the Jewish people, he wrote that:

> The Jews melded with the Spaniard because the Spaniard adopted the Jewish mentality, and the Jew acquired in Spain what he lacked: aristocracy. Ostentation. Pomp. Even today, the Sephardic Jew is distinguished from other Jews . . . he is a vertical Jew, not a diagonal Jew, a Jew of the Ghetto . . . Israel made Spain and Spain improved Israel.[51]

Such theories of racial fusion, already promoted by Pulido,[52] reflected the racial aspects of regenerationism and the Orientalist attitude of its author.

In his resounding conclusion, Ben-Umeya presented the Sephardim as the critical solution to Spain's affliction:

> Three million men, the richest in the universe, speak Spanish. In their hands lies our entire cultural future . . . Hebraism is not a separate religion or race. IT IS a regional variant of Hispanism. It is the Toledan, just like the Catalan, or the Basque . . . For Spain, this is a question of life or death.[53]

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[49]It was not uncommon for Spanish Arabists to become Hebraists, as the study of Hebrew formed part of the required curriculum in the School of Philosophy at the Spanish University where Arabists were trained, under the Liberal *Ley Moyano* (1857) educational reform.

[50] Gil Ben-Umeya, "Hacía un panorama Sefardí," *GL* 3:67 (1 Oct. 1929): 5/439. Spanish Arabists during this period often assumed Arabic names and some even sported traditional Moorish garb such as turbans or tunics.

[51]"Es que el judío se fundió con el español porque el español adoptó la mentalidad judía, y el judío adquirió en España lo que le faltaba: aristocracia. Gesto. Pompa. Aun hoy el hebreo-español se distingue de los otros hebreos . . . Es un hebreo vertical . . . No es un hebreo diagonal, un hebreo de Ghetto . . . Israel ha hecho a España, España ha mejorado a Israel." *GL*: 5/439.

[52]Goode, *Impurity of Blood*, and Rohr, "Spaniards of the Jewish Type."

[53]"Tres millones de hombres, los más ricos del universo, hablan español. En sus manos está todo nuestro porvenir cultural . . . Es que el hebraísmo no es una religión ni una raza aparte. ES una variante regional del hispanismo. Es lo toledano. Como lo catalán. O lo vasco . . . Para España es cuestión de vida o muerte." Boris Chivatcheff, "La influencia cultural de España en el cercano Oriente." *GL* 3:67 (1 Oct. 1929): 3/347. Capital letters in original.

While Ben Umeya's allusion to the economic benefits of engaging with the Sephardim may be understood as a tactic to garner support among the Gaceta's readers, calling upon Spaniards to consider the Sephardim as Hispanic and of the same race also amounted to calling for their reincorporation into a Spanish patria. The conflation of idealistic zeal and material considerations presented by Ben-Umeya would soon come to mark Giménez Caballero's own writing and thinking about what he referred to as the "Sephardic problem."

In the same issue, another contributor, Boris Chivatcheff, called for direct action from Spain in this regard, noting that other nations—alluding primarily to France and to the work of the Alliance Israélite Universelle—had already gained a foothold among Balkan Sephardim.[54] He implored:

> And what does Spain do? What is her cultural influence in the region? . . . It almost amounts to zero. But this fact should not discourage anyone. What's needed is a system of propaganda . . . but Spain has a privileged situation that until this moment it has not exploited . . . In the great cities of the Balkan peninsula in the ports of Asia Minor live numerous Jews. These are Spanish Jews who were expelled from Spain in the time of the Catholic Kings.[55]

Presenting the Sephardim as the bearers and transmitters of Spain's cultural legacy, a role that carried the potential to regenerate Spain, he wrote:

> These Jews . . . have guarded the sweet language of Cervantes, as a melancholic memory of their last exile . . . and this fact alone is enough to demonstrate, despite certain errors, the cultural vitality of the Hispanic race . . . Nonetheless, today's Spain, rejuvenated and strong, has a duty: to reconquer anew these Jews that Spain of the Catholic monarchs had expelled.[56]

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[54]On the work of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, see Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925* (Bloomington, 1990).

[55]"¿Y qué hace España? ¿Cuál es su influencia cultural en el cercano Oriente? . . . Es casi igual a cero. Pero este hecho no debe desanimar a nadie. Le falta un sistema de propaganda . . . España se encuentra en una situación privilegiada que hasta ahora no ha sabido aprovechar. En las grandes ciudades de la península balkánica y en los puertos de Asia menor viven numerosos judíos. Son judíos españoles que han sido expulsados de España en el tiempo de los Reyes Católicos." *GL*: 3/437.

[56]"Estos judíos . . . han guardado el dulce idioma de Cervantes, como un triste recuerdo de su último destierro . . . y este hecho, por sí solo, basta para demostrar, a pesar de ciertos errores, la fuerza cultural de la raza

Mention of a modern "reconquista" indicates that for the author the Sephardim had a role to play in a united Christian Spain despite the tensions the history behind this idea presented. After all, the actions taken by the Catholic Kings immediately following the closure of the so-called reconquest of Spain from the Muslims, namely, the forced conversion or expulsion of Spanish Jewry in 1492, were meant to complete their vision of a united Catholic Spain. Endowing the Sephardim with a Spanish civilizing mission, Chivatcheff outlined a Sephardist cultural program for Spain:

> Without a doubt the Sephardim are a useful element. We must form circles, alliances and eventually libraries . . . even found schools. Nonetheless, we have to begin from afar. With articles (in the Bulgarian, Serbian, Greek periodicals. . .) about Spanish literature and art. Then we can begin delivering lectures and organizing excursions to Spain.[57]

He made clear that these designs formed an intrinsic part of the Pan-Hispanismo of the Gaceta, by noting that in order for Spain to launch this program: "We need men who are devoted to Hispanic culture. We need Hispanists. If these people do not exist, we must form them."[58] In his elaboration of a Pan-Hispanic cultural sphere that, he maintained, extended "from the shores of the Black Sea to the islands of the Philippines",[59] it was the Sephardim themselves who were to become Spain's cultural emissaries, as he advocated that the universities and academies of the largest Spanish cities open their doors to the Balkan youth and that the Spanish government grant

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hispánica . . . Sin embargo, la España de hoy, rejuvencida y fuerte, tiene un deber: reconquistar de nuevo a estos judíos que la España de los Reyes Católicos había expulsado." *GL*: 3/437.

[57]"Sin duda, los sefarditas son un elemento útil. Hay que formar cíırculos, alianzas, más tarde librerías. Hasta fundar colegios. Sin embargo, debemos empezar desde muy lejos. Con artículos (en las revistas búlgaras, serbias, griegas . . .) sobre la literatura y el arte español. Luego dando conferencias y organizando excursiones hasta España." Ibid.

[58]"se precisan hombres amantes de la cultura hispánica. Se precisan hispanistas. Y si no hay tales personas, debemos formarlas." Ibid.

[59] "desde las orillas del mar Negro hasta las islas Filipinas." *GL*: 3/437.

"scholarships to the poor and studious youth . . . who long to learn about the great culture of Spain."[60] For it was they, he argued, who would subsequently become "its best defenders."[61]

In 1929, on the eve of his departure to the Balkans, Giménez Caballero explained the objective of the trip in similar terms: to explore the possibilities of Spanish cultural expansion among "our former compatriots, who after four centuries of almost complete separation, heroically maintain our language."[62] He praised the work of his mentors, Américo Castro and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, but while he lauded the precedent of the philosephardic campaigns of such figures as Ángel Pulido, he clearly distinguished himself from his predecessors. He emphasized that his labor was not romantic and diffuse and that he was not setting off as "an irresponsible dreamer" or a messiah "which Pulido seemed to be on the verge of becoming."[63] Instead, Giménez Caballero turned to the Spanish past, claiming to be assuming the function of "the missionaries of old, rulers, and even the Viceroys of Golden Age Spain" and projecting that "these adventures might carry the seal of a chosen spiritual blood lineage."[64]

While such statements might be dismissed as rhetorical excess, they may actually provide the best guide to Giménez Caballero's ideas.[65] Indeed, his travel writings reveal that he assumed this legacy in earnest, since he viewed himself as playing a direct role in changing and shaping

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[60]"plazas gratuitas de estudio a los jóvenes . . . pobres y estudiosos que anhelan conocer la magna cultura de España." *GL*: 3/437.

[61]"sus mejores defensores." *GL*: 3/437.

[62]"nuestros antiguos compatriotas que tras cuatro siglos de apartamiento casi absoluto mantienen heroicamente nuestro idioma" Piqueras, "Los raids literarios":1/423.

[63]"un fantaseador irresponsable . . . o un mesías como estuvo a punto de parecerlo Pulido." *GL*: 1/423.

[64]"los antiguos misioneros, jerarcas y hasta virreyes de la Españ a de oro . . . estas aventuras deben llevar un sello de sangre espiritual elegida." *GL*: 1/423.

[65]I thank Adrián Pérez Melgosa for his comment regarding the use of rhetoric and excess among the Vanguards—that is, as providing the strongest connection with a core reality, and therefore not something that should be dismissed, but on the contrary to be taken as the best guides to their actual thought.

the course of Spanish history. Indicating that his mission indeed bore personal as well as national significance, he wrote in the *Gaceta* that "What concerns me is not the part of my task that we might call national, collective, official, but rather its personal, literary and intellectual dimensions." He added that: "Intellectually, I feel intimidated and awed . . . I feel an enormous responsibility before myself."[66] Moreover, in declaring in this context that "the Jewish problem is a problem that has been ignored by Spain for hundreds of years", Giménez Caballero suggested not only that Spain had a "Jewish problem" but also that ignoring it for centuries had proved damaging to Spain's national interests.[67]

Giménez Caballero's use of the term "Jewish problem" must be understood in the particular Spanish context that, unlike the case of Germany or much of the rest of Europe, involved the "absence" of actual Jews, and specifically Sephardic Jews, from the national territory. However, this understanding also implied a "presence" of Jews in the Spanish national imaginary, one that remained current ever since their expulsion in 1492 and informed and problematized attempts to construct an "official" national historical narrative and reinvent a national identity that might restore Spain's glory. Moreover, questions of Jewish "absence" and "presence" in Spain would present an unusual conflation of early modern debates over the ability of Jews to assimilate upon their conversion to Christianity, Enlightenment debates over Jewish emancipation and re-admittance to European territory, and the more nefarious modern debates over the inassimilable racial character of the Jews.[68] Only a close reading of the cultural texts

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[66]"[l]o que me preocupa no es mi labor que pudiéramos llamar nacional, colectiva, oficial. Sino la personal, la literaria, la intelectual . . . [i]ntelectualmente, me siento intimidado y estremecido . . . Siento una responsabilidad frente a mí mismo, enorme." *GL*: 1/423.

[67]"[e]l problema judío es un problema ignorado por la España de hace centenas de años." *GL*: 1/423.

[68]I thank Adam Shear for his comment (provided during my presentation on "Recovering Jewish Spain: Jewish History as Historia Patria in Nineteenth-Century Spain"at the University of Pittsburgh European History

Giménez Caballero produced during his voyage and in its wake, however, allows for a deeper sense of the coherence of his perception of Spain's "Jewish problem," as well as his ambivalent stance toward it.

Giménez Caballero's mission took him to Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Salonica, Turkey, and Paris. In all these places, he visited Jewish schools, residential quarters, synagogues, and cemeteries, and interviewed Sephardim from community leaders and members of the cosmopolitan commercial class, to common folk. In addition to travel accounts that he published in the Gaceta about his 1929 trip, Giménez Caballero described later trips of a similar nature within the report that he wrote for the Junta de Relaciones Culturales of the Spanish Ministry of State titled *Nuevas informaciones sobre los sefardíes del próximo oriente* (1931). Moreover, having become quite prominent in the field of film (organizing Spain's first cinema club and collaborating with figures such as Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dalí), Giménez Caballero produced a film, *Judíos de la patria Española* (1929), based on his travels and his involvement back in Spain in the "Sephardic cause."[69]

Reporting in the *Gaceta* on his trip and his impressions of the Jews he encountered, Giménez Caballero declared that "We—for the most select part of the race, the Sephardim—we have a partial solution . . . one that is as useful for them as it is for us", but announced that he would discuss this solution in "another forum."[70] This forum was *Nuevas informaciones*. The

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Colloquium, 2007) on this unusual conflation in Modern Spain of historically disparate debates regarding the place of the Jews in Europe.

[69]The film was restored and digitalized by "The National Center for Jewish Film" at Brandeis University in collaboration with the Filmoteca Española and its Spanish captions translated to English by Jonathan P. Decter and Fatima Serra.

[70]"[n]osotros—para la parte más selecta de la raza, la sefardí—tenemos una media solución . . . tan útil para ellos como para nosotros." Giménez Caballero, "Libros y márgenes: Ernesto Giménez Caballero: Mi regreso a España," *GL* 3:72 (15 Dec. 1929): 1/465.

report details Giménez Caballero's observations of the social and political situation of the Sephardic communities he visited, and Spain's efforts on behalf of "la causa sefardí"— "the Sephardic cause"—including his own "Hispanic propaganda" in the region.[71] It also describes his designs for a resurgence of Spanish cultural expansion in the Balkans, including promoting tourism to Spain, launching Spanish book fairs, improving Spanish instruction for Sephardim of all ages, and "Hispanizing" the Sephardic press through Spanish government subsidies.[72] He also advocated for granting Spanish nationality to Balkan Sephardim and for creating scholarships to train young Sephardim to become "agents of Spanish propaganda" who would later serve in the role of honorary "Vice-Consuls" representing Spain throughout the Balkans.[73]

The presentation of his report as a "partial solution" for the "the most select part of the race" indicates Giménez Caballero's perception of the racial superiority of Sephardic Jews, a notion that reflected the reach of "scientific" notions of "race" in contemporary Pan-Hispanic discourse (which was recurrent among Jews and non-Jews alike), as well as a long standing Sephardic trope of cultural superiority. That superiority seems to grant the Sephardim the potential for redemption from an undesirable state, a redemption that was not possible for the rest of the Jews. Nonetheless, his use of the term "partial" in this context seems to also suggest ambivalence about the possibility of redemption for even the Sephardim. Indeed, his use of "Sephardic problem" and "Jewish problem" and "Jews" and "Sephardim" interchangeably in the report serves to illustrate this ambivalence. Moreover, qualifying this solution as "useful" for the

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[71]"la causa sefardí"; "propaganda hispánica", Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Nuevas informaciones sobre los sefardíes del próximo oriente* (Madrid, 1931), 2.

[72]Ibid., 55.

[73]"agentes de propaganda española." Ibid., 56, 59.

Sephardim and Spain alike highlights the extent to which Giménez Caballero viewed their destinies and paths to redemption as intimately intertwined. It was perhaps also meant to reassure a Spanish audience, as it implied profit in both economic and cultural terms for Spain, while for the Sephardim only their cultural redemption would appear to be guaranteed.

The report is imbued with the idealistic conviction and fervor of a missionary, while it also discloses the bureaucratic instrumentalism of a colonial official. Closer examination of the text, however, reveals how these distinct characteristics concurred with the contours of Giménez Caballero's late colonial designs and his understanding of his role as a propaganda agent. Giménez Caballero seems to have advocated for a Spanish civilizing mission, viewing the Sephardim as colonial subjects whom Spain had the duty to "discipline and employ morally and materially" in the interest of its imperialist expansion in the region.[74] Giménez Caballero viewed himself as performing a similar role, one perhaps mirroring that which he had ascribed to the Sephardim. He assumed the posture of a relentless propaganda agent dutifully serving the material interests of the patria, yet at the same time he embraced an expanded Pan-Hispanic patria that transcended the material realm, entering the religious-spiritual terrain. For, he argued, "the Sephardic problem signified for Spain the possible control, the possible reintegration of a spiritual (and material) province of more than a million souls."[75]

Examples of the reach and particularities of Giménez Caballero's colonial model and his re-evaluation of the role of the Sephardim and the imaginary of "Sepharad" in a rejuvenated Spain may be found throughout the text. In his presentation of his efforts to the Spanish government, he wards off any possible questioning of the legitimacy of his plans by insisting that

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[74]"disciplinarlos y emplearlos moralmente y materialmente." *Nuevas informaciones*, 42.

[75]"el problema sefardí significa para España el posible control, la posible reintegración de una provincia espiritual (y material) de más de un millón de almas." Ibid., 89. (underlining in original quote).

his work be considered "first rate Spanish propaganda", going so far as to consider it "a patriotic duty."[76] Giménez Caballero's exemplary "agent" of Spanish "culture" was Sephardic philologist Kalmi Baruch, who is featured in the film he made during his trip. Giménez Caballero presented a passionate argument for designating Baruch as the principal "propaganda agent" for Spain in the region as, according to him, Baruch "IS the only valuable element at our disposal in the Near East for efficient cultural action."[77] In attesting to the many qualities that made Baruch the superior candidate for the position, Giménez Caballero enumerated his academic credentials yet also emphasized that "above all he possessed a moral scrupulousness worthy of encouraging with complete enthusiasm", lauding his admirable consistency and clarity in the cause of his "enthusiastic service to Spain."[78] He even devised a program to cultivate Baruch for the position, a kind of preparatory course that entailed sending him to Spain to be educated in Spanish "culture."[79] Giménez Caballero clearly held Kalmi Baruch, whom he described as "my close friend",[80] in the highest regard, yet for him these qualities went hand in hand with viewing Baruch as a colonial subject to be employed in the material and moral interest of Spain.

The moralistic tone of the report is also evident in Giménez Caballero's observations of current Spanish policy in the region. He commented extensively and critically on the labor of Spanish teachers and other Spanish government emissaries in several of the larger cities in the region. Writing about Bucharest, Giménez Caballero displayed outrage at the neglect and even

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[76]"propaganda española de primer plan . . . un deber patriótico" Ibid., 89.

[77]"agente de propaganda . . . ES el único elemento valioso de que disponemos en el Próximo Oriente para una acción cultural eficiente." *Nuevas informaciones*, 74; original quote underlined and with capital letters as shown.

[78]"sobre todo dispone de una escrupulosidad moral digna de alentarla con todo entusiasmo"; "servicio entusiasta de España." Ibid., 71- 5.

[79]Ibid., 75.

[80]"mi buen amigo", *GL*: 1/423.

damage of the "Sephardic cause" that had been perpetrated by the members of the Spanish delegation and especially the Spanish language professor assigned to the city, Sr. Correa Calderón. Referring to the delegation's work of spreading "Hispanismo" among Sephardic and non-Jewish Romanians, he accused them of placing "Romanian values" above "Sephardic values", which Giménez Caballero attributed to their submission to "the tradition of Romanian antisemitism and anti-Zionism."[81] He believed that as a result the relationship of the Spanish delegation with the Sephardim was compromised, as they generally maintained "a superficial and formulaic contact with the Sephardim, at times outright hostile,."[82]

In this moralistic indictment of Spanish Sephardist policy in the region, Giménez Caballero displayed his dual understanding of the role of Sephardism in serving the patria. Clearly, for him the role of Spain's defenders transcended the material realm, as he informed his readers that the Sephardist cause represented "the primordial duty that their positions entailed."[83] Moreover, in advising that Sr Correa, like the others, "must dispense with all prejudice contrary to his labor of Spanish propaganda",[84] Giménez Caballero seems to have implied that not only would such displays of antisemitism jeopardize the entire enterprise and harm Spain's interests but also that the "labor" of Spanish propaganda involved upholding a higher moral ground. Within this context, Giménez Caballero also transposed the labors of dutifully serving the patria onto the Sephardim as he suggested (or one may say even threatened) that if Sr Correa could not comply with these conditions, "it would be possible to grant a scholarship to a young intelligent

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[81]"los valores rumanos; los valores sefardíes"; "la tradición antisemita y antisionista de Rumania." *Nuevas informaciones*, 36.

[82]"un contacto superficial y formulario con los sefardíes. Cuando no a veces de hostilidad", Ibid., 36.

[83]"el primordial deber que ese puesto llevaba consigo", Ibid., 36.

[84]"deberá desentenderse de todo prejuicio contrario a su labor de propaganda hispánica." Ibid., 37

and laborious Sephardi to work among his brethren for Spain, in his stead and at no cost."[85] This admiring, yet clearly patronizing, characterization of the role of the Sephardi Jew who would work for free as a token of his loyalty to Spain suggests the colonial and Orientalist nature of Giménez Caballero's Sephardism, one that resonated with earlier Spanish depictions of North African Jews.[86]

Other factors that clearly influenced Giménez Caballero's approach in addressing the "Sephardic problem" proved to be the rise of Zionism and competing colonial entities that sought to exercise influence over the Sephardim. In fact his confrontation with these new political realities and attempts to reconcile them with his designs forced Giménez Caballero to re-evaluate and redefine the "Hispanic" identity of the Sephardim and their place in the "New Spain." In effect, Giménez Caballero now presented Spain as a second Zion and Sephardism as a form of Zionism.[87] This reconceptualization and political strategy is illustrated through one of his activities in his capacity as self-declared propaganda agent: delivering lectures to various Sephardic communities, as a way to help foster their relationship to Spain. In one such lecture, presented to the Sephardic community in Bucharest on "El Libro Español y los Sefardíes" (The Spanish Book and the Sephardim) he reiterated a thesis he had begun to elaborate during his previous visit to the Balkans.[88] Correcting his successor Ángel Pulido, Giménez Caballero maintained that "we do not consider the Sephardi 'a Spaniard without a patria', as Pulido

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[85]"se podrían . . . conceder una beca a algún jóven sefardí inteligente y trabajador que pudiera conseguir trabajar entre los suyos por España y gratuitamente para nosotros." Ibid., 38- 9.

[86]See for example, Giménez Caballero, *Notas Marruecas* and Rohr, "Spaniards of the Jewish Type."

[87]*Nuevas Informaciones*, 28-29.

[88]The second part of the lecture dealt with the role of Sephardim in Spanish Literature from the Middle Ages to Present and Giménez Caballero concluded his talk by distributing promotional Spanish tourism information, *Nuevas Informaciones*, 31- 2.

concluded erroneously, but 'a Jew of the Spanish patria' whose fathers, like our fathers are buried in the same 'patria."' As such, he insisted, the Sephardim are "our 'compatriots' though without ceasing to be Jews. On the contrary, they are first and foremost Jews.[89] Giménez Caballero's recognition of the essential Jewishness of the Sephardim, which, in part, was a concession to Zionists, also reflected his ambivalence regarding the primary allegiance of Spain's Jews.[90]

Giménez Caballero's political strategy also remained inconsistent. While declaring that "sefardismo" is a form of Zionism for the Sephardi, rather than a form of "españolismo," and that "We, as Spaniards should not be anti-Zionist through our Sephardism, but rather complement Zionism",[91] his conclusion appears to stand in tension with this statement. Giménez Caballero concluded that "If Zionism triumphs, all of the efforts of Sefardismo would have been futile." While, "if it did not triumph—as is most probable—all of the Jews would be recognized in the second Zion, Spain, which disinterestedly has assisted the ideal of Jerusalem."[92] As Giménez Caballero made clear, his investment in the success of his Sephardist designs remained at odds with the success of Zionism. His conception of Spain as a second Zion, however, also implied a Christian redemptive motif in keeping with the cultural Catholicism he espoused. By embracing the Sephardim into the fold of the patria as he suggests, Spain could redeem (or at

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[89]"nosotros no consideramos al sefardí 'un español sin patria', como erróneamente lo interpretó Pulido, sino como un 'judío, de patria española', cuyos padres, lo mismo que nuestros padres estaban enterrados en la misma 'patria.'; "nuestros con-patriotas' pero sin dejar de ser judíos. Al contrario, siendo ante todo, judíos." Ibid., 28.

[90]In his report, Giménez Caballero cautioned that Sephardism should appear as supportive of Zionism rather than working against it.

[91]"[n]osotros los españoles no debemos con el sefardismo ser antisionistas. Sino complementar el sionismo." *Nuevas Informaciones,* 28-29.

[92]"si el Zionismo triunfa todos los esfuerzos del sefardísmo habrán sido inútiles mientras si no triunfa—como es lo más probable—todos los judíos se volverán reconocidos a la segunda Sion, España, que desinteresadamente ha auxiliado el ideal de Jerusalem." Ibid., 28- 29.

least partially redeem) the Sephardim. At the same time, the Sephardim could stand as historical witnesses to the glories of Spain through their preservation of Spanish language and traditions, as well as their own historical contributions to Spanish culture. Thus, just as the Jews were meant to be witnesses to the truth of Christianity, a return of the Jews to the patria, with their cultural and monetary wealth, would allow for the "Second Coming" in which Spain could finally be "resurrected."[93] Indeed, assuming a prophetic role, Giménez Caballero deemed it imperative to spread the word that "the Sephardic problem signified for Spain the possible control, the possible reintegration of a spiritual (and material) province of more than a million souls."[94]

While one might argue that Giménez Caballero adjusted the tenor of his propaganda based on his audience, his ideological conviction that Sephardism could be a panacea for Spanish renewal remained consistent throughout the report. Indeed, the idea he had communicated to Bucharest's Sephardic community, of Spain as a new Zion, was not only reported verbatim in his report, but also took the form of a moral prescription dictated to the Spanish government: he insisted it was fundamental that his thesis be acknowledged by the Ministry and its delegates "of every rank", as it had already been accepted "unanimously by the Jews and moreover, it constitutes a reality."[95] Whether Giménez Caballero in fact believed Sephardic Jews had already embraced Sephardism remains questionable, though his willingness to fervently endorse a

[93]Giménez Caballero would come to refer to Spain's regeneration and resurgence as "una resurrección nacional," as the title of his work, *Genio de España: exaltaciones a una resurrección nacional y del mundo* (Madrid, 1932) indicates. His advocacy of cultural Catholicism for Spain was galvanized in *La nueva Catolicidad: teoría general sobre el fascismo en Europa, en España* (Madrid, 1933).

[94]"el problema sefardí significa para España el posible control, la posible reintegración de una provincia espiritual (y material) de más de un millón de almas", *Nuevas informaciones*, 8; emphasis in original.

[95]"de cualquier orden . . . unánimemente por los judíos, y constituye además una realidad." Ibid., 29.

potentially controversial thesis exposes his unwavering devotion to Sephardism and his conviction in its ultimate triumph.

While Giménez Caballero perceived Zionism as an imposing threat to Sephardism, the increasing influence of France over the Sephardim in reality posed a much greater threat to any competing Spanish colonial designs. Indeed, despite his reassurances that the Jews had embraced Sephardism, Giménez Caballero traveled to Paris in 1930 to examine the relations of the Sephardim with France. Placing the Sephardim and Spain on a level plain—the two as pariahs—he reported that the Sephardim's "Judaism—their Spanish, makes them ashamed, while they viewed French as a universal language of prestige.[96] However, determined to bring about the triumph of Sephardism, Giménez Caballero sought ways to steer the Sephardim away from the "Francophile current" and toward Spain and their "national origins."[97] He proposed that Spain revoke the edict of expulsion of 1492, recognizing the Sephardim as Spanish subjects, "cautiously" allow Sephardic immigration to Spain, and implement Spanish propaganda in Paris, home to many Sephardic refugees from Salonica.[98]

In addition to the written documentation of his travels and designs for Spain's Sephardist policy, Giménez Caballero documented these endeavors through film. In 1928 he announced the *Gaceta*'s sponsorship of Spain's first "cine-club" and soon collaborated with the country's most prominent filmmakers.[99] Giménez Caballero's immersion in the world of film in tandem with his enduring commitment to promoting Spanish imperialism and a nationalistic agenda render

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[96]"su judaísmo—su español, les avergüenza", Ibid., 83

[97]"corriente francófila"; "orígenes patrios", Ibid., 84.

[98]Ibid., 86.

[99]Giménez Caballero also produced the well-regarded avant-garde documentary film "Esencia de Verbena" [Essence of Carnival] in 1930.

Los judíos de patria española (1929) a powerful ethnographic and propagandistic short film on Spanish Sephardism. In a sense, the film captures the ideal vision of the civilizing mission Giménez Caballero had hoped for and plotted in the name of the patria in *Nuevas informaciones* and in the pages of the *Gaceta*. An examination of this film thus allows for additional insight into Giménez Caballero as a proponent of Hispanidad and propagandist for Sephardism.

The silent film (14 minutes in length) is replete with images of Jewish archeological remains in Toledo, Córdoba, and Sevilla. Footage of the street life surrounding these sites, in the old juderías, focuses on the individuals who inhabit these historically charged spaces and is accompanied by text indicating that, for example, "in Córdoba, birthplace of the Great Maimónides—indelible traces of him can be observed", and that "some villages in the province of Toledo, such as Yepes, are considered to be of purely Jewish origin."[100] Images from the life of the contemporary Jewish community in Spain are also presented, and seem to consciously feature Jews of divergent ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. Footage includes Jewish "turroneros" at work in Seville, a well-dressed smiling mother with her children in a Barcelona interior, and "the authentic Sephardic features of the young and prominent writer Samuel Ros", a contributor to the *Gaceta* and prominent figure in the madrileño literary scene.[101] Thus, Giménez Caballero reminded Spanish audiences that the "Sephardic problem" was not only a distant one but also one that was an inescapable, even if often unacknowledged, part of their ethnic and cultural heritage.

In *Los judíos de patria española*, Giménez Caballero provides a concise visual and textual narration of Sephardic history before the Expulsion of 1492, avoiding engagement with

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[100]"Córdoba patria del gran Maimonides. Conserva indelebles huellas"; "algunos pueblos toledanos se consideran de puro orígen judío como Yepes'.' *Los judíos de patria española* (Madrid, 1929).

[101]"el rostro autenticamente sefardi del jóven y conocido escritor madrileño Samuel Ros," Ibid.

the more contentious issues of pogroms, the Inquisition and Expulsion. His referral to the latter event as one of "Spanish national consolidation", however, appears to stand in tension with his interest in reclaiming the Sephardim for Spain.[102] The film quickly turns to its main focus, the Sephardic diaspora, recounting the destiny of the exiled Sephardim; it is in this context that Giménez Caballero introduces his "thesis" on Spain as a second Zion: "and in the land of "Galut" (exile) they produced a rich culture for centuries. For this reason, Spain, apart from Zion, is the Sephardi's most sentimental homeland. The ancestral home of their most respected ancestors, whose descendants are the aristocratic Sephardim . . . The Jews of the Spanish homeland".[103]

Turning to the Balkans, the film presents footage of men wearing impeccable western European clothes, noting that among the Balkan Sephardim there are "figures of great valor, including politicians, lawyers and bankers".[104] One of these characters was Kalmi Baruch, his friend and exemplary "agent of Spanish culture," whom he met in Sarajevo. These images stand in stark contrast to ethnographic portrayals of lower-class Sephardim in footage taken in Istanbul's working-class Haskeüi quarter, which housed a large Jewish population. Other images feature clearly impoverished individuals whose provenance is not entirely clear—though the absence of accompanying text leads the viewer to presume they too are Sephardim. These last images, in particular, seem more self-consciously ethnographic in quality, suggesting Giménez

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[102]"consolidación nacional española." Ibid.

[103]"y en esta tierra de 'galud' (destierro), procrearon una alta civilización durante centenios. Por eso es España—tras la de Sion—su patria más sentimental. El solar de sus mejores patriarcas, cuyos descendientes son los aristócratas sefardíes o hijos de Sefarad: Los judíos de patria española." The term *Galut* is the Hebrew word used to refer to the Jewish peoples' exile and diaspora. Ibid.

[104]"personalidades de gran valor . . . los políticos. Abogados y banqueros." Ibid. In *Notas marruecas*, Giménez Caballero's expresses a similar impression of a Moroccan Jewish notable who impressed him as he dressed "impecablemente, a la europea", *Notas marruecas*, 179- 80.

Caballero may have been inspired by "salvage ethnography," an anthropological practice dedicated to the ethnographic documentation of groups under threat of disappearance, and especially by the work of Franz Boas, with which he was familiar.

The film also pays tribute to the Spaniards "who dedicated their attention to the Sephardic problem" featuring brief clips of interviews with them. Among those featured is the illustrious student of their Romancero, Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Fernando de los Ríos, "the great politician of the Sephardic cause", Lorenzo Luzuriaga "Secretary of the Board of Cultural Relations", Manuel L. Ortega, "chronicler of the Jews in Morocco", and above all, the venerable Señor Pulido, apostle of these Spaniards without a patria.[105] While Giménez Caballero surely felt obliged to feature these individuals, for political reasons he may have hoped that their prominence could serve to enhance the prestige and authority of his cause, at home and abroad. Referring to prior philosephardic efforts aimed at repatriating Sephardim, the film concludes with the following quote taken from the "noble encomendero" Joseph Moreno, sent to Turkey in the eighteenth century: "our motto must be, once again, 'Spaniard return to where you once lived.'[106] Moreover, by referring to these Jews as "Spaniards"—despite his previous assertions that they were first and foremost Jews, Giménez Caballero offered a vision of an expansive Spanish patria, one that might yet reincorporate Sephardic Jews into the Hispanic "race."

The coherence of Giménez Caballero's discourse of Hispanidad and vision of Sepharad as part of an expansive, Pan-Hispanic patria is suggested in the first frame of "Los judíos de patria española," which Giménez Caballero most likely filmed last. Giménez Caballero, filming

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[105]"Españoles que dedicaron su atención al problema sefardí . . . el ilustre estudioso de su romancero D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Fernando de los Ríos, el gran político de la causa sefardí', Lorenzo Luzuriaga, el secretario de la junta de relaciones culturales, Manuel L. Ortega, el cronista de los hebreos de Marruecos . . . y sobre todos, el venerable D. Ángel Pulido, póstol de esos españoles sin patria." See also Manuel Ortega, *El doctor Pulido* (Madrid, 1922).

[106]"el noble encomendero Joseph Moreno, enviado a Turquía en el siglo XVIII: [n]uestro lema deberá ser, otra vez . . . 'vuelve español, adonde solías.'"

himself, appears on the roof of the Madrid headquarters of the *Gaceta*. He slowly zooms in and the camera remains focused on his facial features for several seconds**.** More than merely an act of reflexivity, it may be that the acute focus on his facial features, meant to frame the images of Sephardim in the film, represents a statement of his theories on racial mixing, one that engaged contemporary notions of Spanish racial hybridity and which suggests linkages between his own origins and Spain's Jewish past. Moreover, by drawing this connection, Giménez Caballero wished to encourage Spanish viewers to consider the "Sephardic problem" as one that directly affected them as Spaniards.

Updates published in the *Gaceta* while Giménez Caballero was abroad reported that large numbers of Sephardim attended his lectures and greeted him with enthusiasm. It is difficult to assess Sephardic reactions to Giménez Caballero, but it is likely they were highly ambivalent. Even if his presence aroused enthusiasm, by the time of his voyage, many Sephardim had already come under the influence of France and Britain, and some had also embraced Zionism.[107] The appeal of culturally reconnecting to Spain, or returning to a country of little international clout, generally remained confined to philo-Spanish elites or moments when these communities found themselves in a politically vulnerable position.[108] Nonetheless, the official story on Giménez Caballero's return was that the trip was a "continuous triumph in the Sephardic world"—that it managed to "inspire constant sympathy and homages to Spain" and that it sufficed to demonstrate "the numerous genealogical and linguistic connections, as well a customs, that unite Spain and the Near East."[109]

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[107]See Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*.

[108]González, *El retorno de los judíos*, 175-205.

[109]" . . . continuo triunfo en el mundo sefardí . . . despertar constantes simpatías y homenajes a España . . . para mostrar cuántos lazos de parientes, lingüística y de costumbres unen a España y al próximo Oriente." "Viaje a Oriente," *GL*: 6/452; "Regreso" *GL*: 1/459.

Despite such reports, in his post voyage writings Giménez Caballero demonstrates increasing ambivalence toward the "Sephardic Problem" as a "Jewish problem." He informed his readers that "What most moved my conscience with regard to the Sephardic Jews was their complete understanding of the significance of patria."[110] As he argued: "patria is not nation. The Jews are a nation, but without a patria. The Jew is not a universalist. He is the staunchest nationalist that exists in the world and his 16 million brothers are bound by ties of religion, race and language in ways unparalleled by any other nation."[111] Moreover, he reported having witnessed Jewish communists fight with Jewish capitalists—and "upon the secret invocation of "Jewishness"—cease their squabbling and unite."[112] This admiring assessment of the Jews' bond suggested that Spaniards should emulate the Jews in this regard, while it also threw into question the Sephardim's ability to ever become Spaniards. This suggestion also seems to inform Giménez Caballero's conclusion that because the Jews lack a homeland, "the Jewish problem will not have a solution—not today and maybe never," given that, in his view, "(the Jew) lacked the courage and violence to conquer his patria."[113]

Giménez Caballero's ambivalence regarding the Jews would become more intense in the course of his political evolution toward fascism. In the spring of 1928, he traveled to Italy, drawing inspiration from his perception of Mussolini's populism and ability to rally the masses.

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[110]"[l]o que más ha movido mi conciencia ante los judíos españoles es la aclaración absoluta de lo que significa patria." ("Libros"). This assessment was located in a subsection titled "Nación y patria judíos"—of the portion of the *Gaceta* dedicated to Giménez Caballero's general reflections about the patria upon his return to Spain.

[111]"[p]atria no es nación. El judío es una nación, pero sin patria. El judío no es universalista. Es el nacionalista más acérrimo, más calvino que existe en el mundo. Sus 16 millones de hermanos están atados con ataderos de religión de raza, de lengua, como ninguna otra nación puede ostentar." *GL*: 1/465.

[112]"a la invocación secreta de "lo israelita"—callarse y unirse." *GL*: 1/465.

[113]"el problema judío no tendra´, por hoy—quizá nunca—solución . . . al judío le falta violencia y coraje para conquistar su patria." *GL*: 1/465.

In 1929, in an open letter in the *Gaceta* ("Carta"), he declared himself a Fascist, becoming a pioneer of the movement in Spain.[114] Thus, his admiration of the Jews' "staunch" nationalism on the one hand, and disparagement of their lack of "courage and violence" on the other, corresponded to his new political affiliations.

While Giménez Caballero's admiration for Mussolini was explicit, his incipient Fascism proved more eclectic. For instance, he admired aspects of the Soviet Union and Marxism, insofar as they seemed to offer inspiration on how to mobilize the Spanish working classes and progressive groups in a new era of Spanish imperialism. Giménez Caballero's route to fascism may have proved complex and belabored; however, to the public his announcement of the death of vanguardism and publication of the "Carta" not only signaled his unequivocal conversion, but served as a manifesto for Fascism in Spain. As a result, many of Giménez Caballero's collaborators resigned from the *Gaceta*, despite his attempts to maintain the literary character of the journal, and it disbanded by 1932. Nonetheless, "Sepharad" continued to occupy a prominent place in Giménez Caballero's writings, and his most active work on behalf of it, as discussed in the previous section, dates from the period immediately after his conversion to Fascism. In retrospect, it may seem that Giménez Caballero's Sephardism, just like his philo-Catalanism, simply formed part of his triumphalist imperialist designs.[115] While this may be true to some extent, such a conclusion cannot fully explain why his engagement with "Sepharad" outlived his plans for Pan-Iberian unity, and was incorporated into his Fascism.

For instance, in 1931, Giménez Caballero was thought to have published (or collaborated on) the article which appeared under the name of fellow fascist, the Conde de Foxá, on the front page of the *Gaceta*, which portrayed an imaginary encounter between him and the spirits of the

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[114] Giménez Caballero, "Carta a un compañero de la jóven España," *GL* 51:3 (15 Feb. 1929): 1/5.
[115] Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España*, 344- 45.

Catholic Kings, Isabelle and Ferdinand. In response to their accusation that by embracing the Sephardim he was undoing one of their greatest triumphs, Giménez Caballero claimed he was continuing their work by completing the "Reconquista," as the Sephardim represented Spain's last "unrecovered province."[116] Giménez Caballero's understanding of his efforts as a continuation of the "Reconquista" provides us with an indication of how Sephardism actually formed a central part of his vision of a Catholic Spanish patria. Here, as in his earlier writings and film, Giménez Caballero's Sephardism may have been predicated on a vision of an eternal Catholic Spain, rather than a more inclusive and heterogeneous Spanish patria. In fact, Giménez Caballero would become a pioneer and major proponent of national Catholicism in Spain, an ideology that he elaborated in *Genio de España: exaltaciones a una resurrección nacional y del mundo* (1932) and later, in *La nueva catolicidad: teoría general sobre el fascismo en Europa, en España* (1933).

Giménez Caballero's views on antisemitism were similarly ambivalent. While he appeared to repudiate the anti-Semitism of Pío Baroja and that displayed by his Spanish colleagues in the Balkans, his "Carta"(1929) calls on Spain to view "Russia's Christianity and universality" rather than "what it bears of Judaism and the anti-Christ."[117] To further complicate things, in 1931 Giménez Caballero repudiated Hitler's anti-Semitism and drew a sharp distinction between German and Italian Fascism.[118] By late 1931, however, Sephardism became a marginal concern for Giménez Caballero, as he began to attack the Republic and moved further

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[116]Quoted in Foard, *Revolt of the Aesthetes*, 99; *GL* (15 Jul. 1931): 1.

[117]"Pío Baroja", *GL*: 1/99; (qtd. in Foard; "Carta").

[118]Review of Mein Kampf, *GL* 1931. More info for this cite? Xxx also check 2 preceding cites.

to the right and the *Gaceta Literaria* dissolved.[119] Moreover, on occasion he began to embrace explicitly anti-Semitic rhetoric, evoking theories of Jewish world domination and Jewish incompatibility with Spain.[120]

During the Spanish Civil War, Giménez Caballero played an important role in promoting the Nationalist cause and a fascist agenda, an agenda he continued to endorse fervently during the Franco dictatorship. While he never abandoned his Hispanic imperialism, after the success of National Socialism his designs now turned from "Sepharad" to Nazi Germany. In an interview decades later he claimed to have met with Joseph Goebbels in 1941 and to have attempted to arrange a marriage between Hitler and the sister of the founder of Spain's Fascist party, as a way of bringing to fruition the "restoration of a new Hispanic-Austrian dynasty."[121] During the years he spent in Paraguay in the 1960s as Spain's ambassador to the country, he became quite invested in the concept of "mestizaje" to which he dedicated his book *Genio hispánico y mestizaje* (1965), and in which he presented mestizaje as the "mysticism of Hispanidad"—a theory he understood as the attempt to unite the blood of all men in Christian and universal fraternity.[122] The prominence of Sephardism in Giménez Caballero's earlier discourse of Hispanidad was entirely absent from these later theorizations and designs for Pan-Hispanic unity.

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[119]Giménez Caballero went on to publish several issues under the title "El Robinson Literario" between August 1931 and February 1932.

[120]Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España*, 345- 47.

[121]Selva, "Autor/tema": 21- 8. This encounter allegedly took place during his participation in the Congress of European Writers in Weimar. In his interview with Enrique Selva in *Anthropos*, Giménez Caballero retold this story and it also appears in his *Memorias de un dictador* (Barcelona, 1979) and in Historia 16 "That night with Magda." Check last ref, xxx.

[122]Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Genio hispánico y mestizaje* (Barcelona, 1965), 5.

Intellectually, however, Giménez Caballero remained ambivalent about Spain's Jewish past and its importance in the nation's "national resurrection." This is clear in a pedagogical guide for high-school instructors, "Lengua y Literatura de España y su imperio" [Language and Literature of Spain and its Empire], which he authored between 1940 and 1953.[123] While the guide by and large presents a traditional Catholic interpretation of the Spanish past, it also includes sections on Jewish authors and texts from medieval Spain, descriptions of Jewish influences in the great works of Spanish literature, and references to Judeo-Spanish as a Hispanic language. In discussing the origins of Castilian literature, Giménez Caballero indicates that Hebraic authors, such as Maimónides and Yehuda Ha-Levi, played an essential role in the formation of the "true Spanish genius".[124] Apparently, even within fascist Spain, the Jews—or at least the memory of them—might occupy a distinguished place in the patria.

Until recently, Giménez Caballero's importance in Spanish intellectual history has been trivialized by his caricaturization as a sensationalist ideologue. As Enrique Selva has recently argued, perhaps more than any other Spanish intellectual of his time, Giménez Caballero fully immersed himself in the divergent intellectual tides of the interwar period, by placing himself "in the eye of the hurricane."[125] Moreover, it was precisely this posturing—which some scholars have dismissed as extravagant and histrionic—that allowed Giménez Caballero to play a seminal role in articulating and assimilating Fascist doctrine in the Spanish context, even to the point of

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[123]The first volume of his ambitious seven-volume pedagogical work for *bachillerato Lengua y literatura de España y su imperio* appeared in 1940—Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Lengua y Literatura de España y su imperio* (Madrid, 1940)—was concluded in 1953, and reissued in three volumes in the 1970s under the title *Lengua y literatura de la hispanidad en textos pedagógicos, para su enseñanza en España, América y Filipinas* (Madrid, 1963).

[124]"verdadero genio español."

[125]"en el centro del huracán", Enrique Selva, *Giménez Caballero: entre la vanguardia y el fascismo* (Valencia, 2000), 15.

becoming, in Selva's words, "the greatest incarnation of the particular path through which Fascist ideology was formulated and began to be disseminated in Spain."[126] As Douglas Foard argues, Giménez Caballero's trajectory was not anomalous or eccentric, but rather representative of the volatile political and intellectual climate throughout Western Europe in the interwar period.[127]

Other works that discuss Giménez Caballero have focused on his interest in the Sephardim. Certain authors have concluded that his "philosephardism" must be understood as "instrumentalist" and subordinate to his nationalistic and nationalistic and imperialistic designs[128] and characterize him as "a Fascist philosephardist who turned antisemitic."[129] Others have discussed the importance of the imagery of "Sepharad" in the elaboration of Hispanidad and in the vanguard origins of Spanish Fascism.[130] Shammah Gesser demonstrates the tensions and complexities of Giménez Caballero's interest in the Sephardim, and how it cannot be easily located within the perceived dichotomies of antisemitism and philosephardism, or that of the "simplistic Manichaeism" of the "two Spains."[131]

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[126]"la mayor encarnación de la vía a través de la cual se formula la ideología fascista y se comienza a difundir en nuestro país", Ibid., 15.

[127]Douglas W. Foard, *The Revolt of the Aesthetes: Ernesto Giménez Caballero and the Origins of Spanish Fascism* (New York, 1989).

[128]Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews*, 30.

[129]"un fascista filosefardí que deviene antisemita", Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España*, 273.

[130] See: Norbert Rehrmann, "Los sefardíes como 'anexo' de la Hispanidad: Ernesto Giménez Caballero y La Gaceta Literaria", Albert Mechthild ed., *Vencer no es convencer: literatura e ideología del fascismo español* (Frankfurt, 1998), 51-74; and Silvina Shammah Gesser, "La imagen de Sefarad y los judios españoles en los origenes vanguardistas del fascismo español," Raanan Rein, ed., *España e Israel: veinte años después* (Madrid, 2007), 67-88.

[131]"el maniqueísmo simplista de las 'dos Españas", Shammah Gesser, "la Imagen de Sefarad", 67-68.

In a similar vein, Giménez Caballero must be read outside the seemingly binary opposition between Spanish philosephardism and anti-Semitism, in terms of his ambivalent engagements with what he himself referred to as "the Sephardic cause" as *Sefardismo* or Sephardism. In a world that was moving toward increasingly extreme positions, individuals often felt compelled to embrace one ideology over another and place their lives at its service. The coexistence of so many points of view including antisemitism and Sephardism in one person renders Giménez Caballero an intriguing character. Through his example, one may begin to infer the possible connections between these positions in the context of Spanish Fascism. Such positions connect to the deeper history of the question of the "Jewishness" of Spain, a history that owes much to the idea of a united Catholic Spain, an idea that reached its apogee under Spanish fascism. Only through recovering this longer and deeper history may one fully comprehend how attempts to recover Spain's Jewish past—whether in Giménez Caballero's time, or our own—may be marked by similar ambivalence.

III Spaniards and Sephardim Reclaim the Patria: Córdoba 1935

In August 1934 The Royal Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts of Córdoba, in collaboration with the City of Córdoba, published a manifesto signed by the city's highest political and academic officials, declaring their intention to commemorate the eighth centennial of the birth of Cordoban native and Jewish philosopher Maimonides (Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon 1135-1204). The manifesto stated that Maimonides had "endowed the fertility of Andalusian soil with the production of immortal sons who have made the name of Mother Spain eternal . . . " and that in turn, the organizers wished to "exalt his memory and his glory and to display him, with the love of a Mother, for the admiration of humanity and for present and future

generations."[132] However, this initiative, like those of Ernesto Giménez Caballero, would not remain a local affair but would reach far beyond Spain's borders: the idea of embracing and claiming Maimonides as a prodigious son of the Spanish *patria*, inspired the active involvement of Spain's National Republican government in the planning of the commemoration, as well as Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews living in Spain, the Sephardic Diaspora and elsewhere in Europe.

Close examination of the commemoration reveals the ways the Jewish past became critical for the Spanish Republic.[133] Along similar lines to Rosalie Sitman's argument in her study of the philosemitism of the influential pro-Republic Argentine journal *SUR*, the Sephardism of the Spanish Republic appears to have served as a "rhetorical leitmotiv within a broader discursive strategy" to oppose fascism globally.[134] In this context, Sephardism served as a vehicle for voicing and enacting a version of Hispanidad meant to promote an enlightened image of the patria, even if it was a partial one.

The Second Spanish Republic had emerged in April of 1931, and a coalition of Republican parties of various leanings formed a provisional government, with a Republican-Socialist majority, which lasted until 1933. The vision of the Republic cultivated by the leftist

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[132] " . . . acreditó la fecundidad del suelo andaluz en la producción de hijos inmortales que han hecho imperecedero el nombre de la madre España . . . .Para exaltar su recuerdo y su gloria y para mostrarlo con amor de madre a la admiración de la humanidad y de las generaciones presentes y venideras." J. M. Camacho and R. Castejón, "Crónica del VIII Centenario de Maimónides," *Boletín de la Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba* 14:46 (Jul.-Sep. 1935): 148.

[133] On commemorations, historical memory, and national identity elsewhere, see: Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989); John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994); and Gerald Sider and Gavin Smith, eds., *Between History and Histories: The Making of Silences and Commemorations* (Toronto, 1997).

[134]Rosalie Sitman, "Protest from Afar: the Jewish and Republican Presence in Victoria Ocampo's Revista SUR in the 1930s and 1940s", Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein, eds., *Rethinking Jewish-Latin Americans*, eds. (Albuquerque, 2008), 134. The contributors and editorial board of SUR included some of the leading Spanish Republican intellectuals of the day (among them Guillermo de Torre, Américo Castro, Pedro Salinas, Ramón Gomez de la Serna, Rafael Alberti, and Juan Ramón Giménez) who had sought exile in Buenos Aires after 1936, as well as Argentinean luminaries such as Jorge Luis Borges.

Republican and the Socialist majority between 1931-1933, in the years immediately previous to the Commemoration, entailed the modernization of Spain, and the realization of this vision manifested itself most palpably through the government's vigorous attempts to cultivate and inculcate the Spanish public with a form of Republican civic culture which embodied the enlightened liberal notions of progress and tolerance.[135] Such an endeavor involved a radical break with the past; above all, a break with Spain's perceived historical legacy of intolerance and backwardness, as well as a continuation and extension of some earlier Philosephardic initiatives which included attempts to offer Spanish nationality to Sephardic Jews.[136]

In the November elections of 1933, having profited from growing divisions in the left and middle class fears about the anticlericalism of the Republic, the right wing CEDA emerged as the party with the largest parliamentary delegation. A center-right government was formed and its repressive anti-labor policies further radicalized the Socialist leadership. Further turmoil erupted in October of 1934 when several CEDA ministers entered the government, instigating general strikes in Madrid, Barcelona and other Socialist strongholds. The situation reached a climax in Asturias after almost thirty thousand miners rebelled against the new government and the insurgency was brutally crushed by the Civil Guard and the army headed by its African legion and Moroccan troops. In the wake of the uprisings, anti-semitic discourse (coupled with anti Bolshevik and Freemason rhetoric) was evoked increasingly on the right to demonize the insurgents and the left more broadly.[137] By 1935, therefore, the resurgence of the Right, and an

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[135]On the politics governing the Second Republic see Stanley Payne, *Spain's First Democracy: Spain's Second Republic, 1931-1936* (Madison, 1993). On the intersection of culture and politics and the construction of Civic Culture in the Second Republic see Sandie Holguín, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain* (Madison, 2002).

[136]See Isidro González, *El retorno de los judíos*; Lisbona *Retorno a Sefarad*; Rohr, *The Spanish Right*; and Michal Friedman, "Reconquering 'Sepharad'".

[137]See Isabelle Rohr, *The Spanish Right,* 56.

ascendant Fascism, became a palpable threat to the Republic. The Center and Right Republicans and Radicals desperately hoped to reverse the ascendancy of the right and in the process to preserve the Republic from disintegration, through re-storing or re-envisioning some of its initial liberal and enlightened designs. In 1935, around the time of the commemoration, President Niceto Alaclá Zamora and Prime Minister Lerroux scrambled to reconstruct the coalition of 1931-1933, while they also struggled to contain the mounting political crisis.[138]

It is therefore likely no coincidence that in 1935 the government found the idea of embracing a figure like Maimonides, who ostensibly symbolized a so-called "golden age" in Spain's past, and the notions of tolerance, progress and reason, quite attractive. Moreover, such an opportunity presented an expedient way of publicly rejecting the image of fascism, all too closely connected with the image of intolerance which marred not only Spain's past but also present perceptions of Spain's backwardness. The commemoration thus provided a context for redeeming and re-claiming the Spanish Republic, as it faced the twin threats of political disintegration and rising fascism, through the re-envisioning of a transnational and diasporic Spanish patria, specifically through the re-integration of the memory of "Sepharad" and living Sephardim into its fold. Finally, the commemoration also provides insight into how Spaniards and Sephardim defined their identity vis-a-vis each other.

The 1934 Córdoba manifesto was soon made public and the Spanish Republican government reciprocated by issuing an official decree (on December 8, 1934) signed by Prime Minister Alejandro Lerroux, declaring official government sponsorship of a public celebration of the eighth centennial of the birth of Maimonides which was to take place in his native city of Córdoba between March 25 and March 31 of 1935. The authors of the decree established the

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[138]On this final stage of the Second Republic see Moa Pío, *El derrumbe de la Segunda República y la Guerra Civil* (Madrid, 2001).

importance of Maimonides for Spain by proudly claiming him as one of Spain's (and the Republic's) own:

> His influence in Medieval culture is a seal of glory for Spain, and especially for Córdoba, *patria* of the illustrious rabbi...The Republic, always ready to pay homage to the memory of those sons of Spain who glorified her name and spread it far beyond her dominions, wishes to render homage to him by associating itself with the idea of the organizing committee of the eighth centennial of Maimonides, to exalt the figure of the philosopher, whose birth will be commemorated on that date.[139]

While the government declared Maimonides a "son of Spain", the decree referred to Córdoba as Maimonides' *patria*, and publicly announced the national government's deference to the regional planning committee, for reasons that are not entirely clear.[140] Nonetheless, the Republican government did not only provided its official seal of approval for the commemoration by mandating that all events to take place were to be considered of "official character",[141] but also became a major participant and actor in shaping the character of the event.

The crafting of the event thus was to take place at the local and national levels, as reflected in the formation of a national honorary board, a Central Junta based in Madrid, and a local organizing committee based in Cordoba. Subsequent to its publication in Spain, the national government issued an English translation of the decree so that the event would attain international reach, as well as an invitation by the Spanish State Tourist Department, welcoming the international community to participate in the festivities:

> *You are most cordially invited by the* SPANISH STATE TOURIST DEPARTMENT, *to assist at the VIIIth Centenary of the Birth of Maimonides that will be held in Cordoba*. *You are welcome, not only to the splendid capital of the*

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[139]Camacho and Castejón, "Crónica del VIII Centenario de Maimónides," 149.

[140]Interestingly both Alejandro Lerroux and Niceto Alcalá Zamora were natives of the Andalusian province of Cordoba, though beyond this it is impossible to conjecture the reasons for such deference without digging into local politics.

[141]Camacho and Castejón, "Crónica del VIII Centenario de Maimónides."

> *Western Caliphs, but to the whole of our Country, where you will find smiling hosts and a most attractive folkloric and touristic variety*.[142]

The text of the Tourist Department's invitation gestured toward Andalusian regionalism by evoking Cordoba's once glamorous Moorish past, while prompting travelers to visit the entire country. Thus, it provided an image of Spain at once romantic and quaint, as well as one depicting an 'authentic' folklorism for the foreign traveler, and meant to counter prevalent stereotypes of Spanish intolerance and incivility.[143]

One may gain a good understanding of the weight lent to the event on the national level, simply by perusing the list of individuals on the honorary board: the list featured the leading Spanish political leaders and luminaries of the time, with the President of the Republic, Niceto Alcalá Zamora, serving as its honorary President. The board also included Prime Minister Alejandro Lerroux, President of the Spanish Cortes, Santiago Alba and a host of the Republic´s top ministers. It also featured the deans and provosts of Spain's major universities, the Directors of all of Spain's National Royal Academies and intellectuals of the stature of Miguel de Unamuno and José Ortega y Gasset.

In addition to its involvement in the events in Córdoba, the government took other measures to extend the reach of the Commemoration, within and beyond Spain's national borders, such as issuing special stamps in honor of the centennial, sponsoring commemorative publications on the scholarship of Maimonides, as well as assisting with the organization of commemorations outside of Spain.[144] Invitations to the Córdoba commemoration were extended

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[142] *Gaceta de Madrid* 349: 189 (15 Dec. 1934).

[143] For a study of the role of touristic discourse in constructing Spain's disputed identity and difference see: Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella, eds., *Spain is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Identity* (Lanham, 2008).

[144] "La España ba a publikar timbros en onor di Maimonides," *El Sol (Judeo-Spanish Journal en Amerika)* (22 Feb. 1935).

to Jewish delegates and community leaders throughout Europe, Palestine and the Americas. The desire to attract international attention to the events, especially that of potential Jewish visitors, must have influenced the decision to make international financier, scholar and leader of the emergent modern Jewish community of Madrid, Ignacio Bauer, head of the Junta Central based in Madrid.[145]

The local organizing committee featured an array of individuals of note in the city and province of Córdoba, including politicians, presidents of scholarly and cultural academies and distinguished university professors. The celebration in Córdoba entailed a week long program of academic lectures, literary pageants, as well as organized regional excursions, popular fiestas, bull fights, flamenco *tablaos*, and serenades. Such overt displays of regional Andalusian folklore served to boost attendance at the events, while they also promoted tourism to the region and regional pride. Indeed, widely circulated national papers such as the pro-Republican *Heraldo de Madrid* organized and advertised special discounted trips from Madrid to Cordoba in honor of the event.[146] In the foreground of these events were various commemorative ceremonies, which presented the participants with a consecrated context for the articulation and symbolic presentation of their visions of the Spanish "patria." Despite their official character, however, these rites allowed for a more intimate discourse regarding the place of the Jews in the Spanish *patria*; a discourse which simultaneously served to express hopes and anxieties over the future of the Republic and the menace of the rise of fascism.

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[145]On Ignacio Bauer and the establishment of the modern Jewish community in Madrid see Lisbona, *Retorno a Sefarad*, and González, *El retorno de los judíos*.

[146]See for example the advertisement for discounted trips to Cordoba from Madrid, "Un viaje a Córdoba por el ViII centenario de Maimónides," published in the widely circulated pro-Republic Madrileño newspaper *El Heraldo de Madrid* (22 Mar. 1935):10.

One such event was the unveiling on 12:30 pm on March 26th of a commemorative marble plaque on the patio in front of the entrance to the medieval synagogue of Cordoba; the synagogue Fidel Fita and Francisco Fernández y González had visited, studied and ultimately helped restore over the course of earlier decades. Upon unveiling the marble commemorative inscription, the mayor of Córdoba, Bernardo Garrido de los Reyes, one of the principal politicians of the Cordoban *Partido Radical Republicano*, evidently consumed with "great emotion", stated the following: "Córdoba presents humanity with this commemorative stone, destined to glorify a man. And on this day, in these times of hatred, Córdoba offers a message of peace, of enthusiasm and love, desiring that it radiate throughout the entire world . . ."[147] He concluded, by declaring: "This stone is going to bear witness to the peace formed between Spain and the brothers of Maimonides . . . And without peace with Israel, there can be no peace in the world."[148] The listening audience responded with vigorous applause.

By designating the Jews as bearers of his universalist message of peace, the mayor seemed to echo the earlier expressions of Jewish exceptionalism found in the Spanish historiography on the Jewish past. Through his speech, moreover, the mayor projected an image of a tolerant Spain. This image was conceived through the rewriting of history to accent the positive aspects of the Spanish past, and through the imagining of Spain's possible future. This projection materialized, albeit symbolically, through an act of public reconciliation with the ancestors of the Jews that Spain had previously excluded.

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[147]"Córdoba entrega a la humanidad esta lápida destinada a glorificar a un hombre. Y en este día, es Córdoba en estos tiempos de odios, la meta de la paz, del entusiasmo y del amor, que desea se irradie por el mundo entero", Camacho and Castejón, "Crónica del VIII Centenario de Maimónides," 169.

[148]"Esta piedra va a llevar testimonia de la paz concluida entre España y los hermanos de Maimonides . . . Y sin paz con Israel no hay paz en el mundo", *La Vara*, 29 Mar. 1935.

The commemorative inscription, now exposed to the public, read: "Spain, in the name of the government of the nation, expresses its homage to the immortal genius of Judaism. Córdoba, his *patria*, makes an offering to the veneration of his memory."[149] These words are quite revealing, as they inscribe a triangular relation between Maimonides' Jewish, Andalusian, and Spanish identity: Maimonides is identified primarily as a "Jew" by the national government though not necessarily as a "Spaniard", while the local government claimed him as a member of the "patria Chica" of Córdoba both local and national governments thus inscribing their claims to the 'official' memory of Maimonides.

While some Cordobans welcomed Maimonides back to his "patria Chica", other speakers seemed eager to claim Maimonides, and by extension the Sephardim, as part of the "patria Grande." The Director of Córdoba's Academy of Arts and Sciences and leftist Republican political figure Antonio Jaen Morente called for the expansion of the frontiers of the Spanish *patria*, and of Spanish identity. In an impassioned speech he declared that: "Spain has shown the entire world that she is free, and her liberty extends to the four corners of the world...Spain extends herself wherever there is someone who speaks Castilian and feels in Castilian."[150] At another moment during the event, Jaen, who had served as ambassador to Peru focused on the importance of Latin America in this expanded vision of the patria. In this regard Jaen's vision of 'Spain' and Hispanidad coincided with that of Giménez Caballero, as the two viewed the re-invention of Spain in such a way as to encompass the descendants of those who were either expelled centuries before or had chosen to sever their links with it.

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[149]"España, por el Gobierno de la Nación, expresa su homenaje al inmortal genio del judaísmo—Córdoba, su patria, le ofrenda la veneración de su recuerdo", Camacho and Castejón, "Crónica del VIII Centenario de Maimónides," 168-169.

[150]"España ha demostrado al mundo entero que es libre, y que su libertad se abre a las cuatro partes del mundo . . . España extiende donde quiera que haya quien hable español y quien sienta en castellano." Camacho and Castejón, "Crónica del VIII Centenario de Maimónides," 19.

The idea of constructing a "New Spain" through re-integrating the Sephardim into the "patria" is perhaps best illustrated in an official communication from the Republican government, read by the civil governor of Córdoba, José de Gardogni, at the closing ceremony of the commemoration:

> The French say: 'Every farewell is a death'. But you should not forget: 'Every return is a resurrection.' So, my dear brothers, return to Spain. Leave with the friendliest memory of Spain and tell the whole world that Spain has received you with the utmost kindness. Tell everyone that Spain has erased the last remains of a dark past, and that the New Spain embraces you like a son who has returned from a long trip. Speak of the New Spain, of its ideas and aspirations, which are a balm for the pain of the Jews. Speak of us to your women and sons, your acquaintances and your friends, and communicate to them that Spain has opened its arms to its Jewish brothers and has given them a kiss of peace.[151]

The "resurrection" de Gardogni spoke of clearly reflected the desired resurrection of the Spanish Republic so desperately projected through the ritualistic and commemorative rites of the Centennial. More than serving as a "balm for the pain of the Jews" moreover, the Jews' metaphorical return represented a balm for a wounded Spain seeking a life line, or at the very least for a space (albeit a fleeting one) to enact the imagining of a better future.

While the local and National Republican governments attempted to frame the nature of the commemoration, the question remains, how did the Jewish and particularly Sephardic participants in the Commemoration, and the wider communities from which they came, respond to such ostensibly magnanimous gestures? Generally**,** Sephardim and other Jews embraced the 'official' sentiment of reconciliation between Spain and the Jews and the promise of a future alliance. This embrace took on a performative character which corresponded to the 'official'

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[151] "Los Franceses dicen: 'Toda despedida es una muerte'. Pero no olviden Vds.: 'Todo regreso es una resurrección.' Regresen pues a España, mis queridos hermanos. Váyanse Vds. Con el más amistoso recuerdo de España y digan a todo el mundo que España les ha acogido con toda la simpatía. Digan a todos que España ha borrado los últimos restos de un pasado oscuro y que la nueva España les abraza como a un hijo que regresa de un largo viaje. Digan de la nueva España, de sus ideas y aspiraciones, que son un bálsamo para las penas de los judíos. Hablen de nosotros a sus mujeres e hijos, sus conocidos y amigos, y comuníqueles que España ha abierto sus brazos a sus hermanos judíos y les ha dado el beso de la paz." Lisbona, *Retorno a Sefarad*, 56.

tone of the centennial, emphasizing the romance of Spain and its Jews vis-a-vis each other, while mitigating the sorrows and violence of the past. Representatives of European Sephardic communities generally seem to have embraced the opportunity presented by the Commemoration, as a context to re-fashion and re-affirm their Sephardic and Hispanic identities. Many even became boosters of the event and expressed their readiness to leave the beleaguered past behind, in order to rally around the "New Spain" and join its ranks.

At a reception for the Jewish delegates, for instance, Rabbi Maurice Levi of Sarajevo, who was one of the subjects filmed in Giménez Caballero's documentary, speaking in Spanish, delicately evoked the past by remembering the Jews of Córdoba who fought for peace and sacrificed for their ideals. He quickly moved on however, to congratulate the Spanish people for having eliminated the spirit which guided the Inquisition, adding that: "Spain is now respected by the Jews of the entire world." After lavishing further praise on Spain, he finished off with a robust: "Viva España." [152] At a banquet at the *Círculo de la Amistad* (a major cultural and social nucleus in the city) dignitaries and guests gathered to socialize and listen to more speeches. Among those delivering speeches was the Chief Rabbi of Paris, Julien Weill. Declaring that he represented "more than a million Jews, who will share in the enthusiasm for Maimonides," the Rabbi struck a romantic note of reconciliation and hispanophilia: "he who knows Spain has no other remedy but to love her like a beloved mother…the Jewish people can never forget Spain, the country where they lived for more than fifteenth centuries."[153]

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[152]"Dedica un recuerdo a los judíos cordobeses que lucharon por la paz y se sacrificaron sus ideales . . . La España es ahora respectada por los judíos de todo el mundo." Camacho and Castejón, "Crónica del VIII Centenario de Maimónides," 169 and *La Vara* (29 Mar. 1935).

[153]"él que conoce a España no tiene más remedio de amarla como a una madre querida. Declara que representa a más de un millón de judíos a los cuales harán partícipes del entusiasmo a Maimonides." & that "el pueblo judío no puede nunca olvidar a España, el país donde vivió más de XV siglos. Camacho and Castejón, "Crónica del VIII Centenario de Maimónides," 174.

For many Jewish participants, the climactic moment of the celebration surely was the re-dedication of the synagogue of Córdoba for prayer. An official prayer was recited by Rabbi Weill. Interestingly, enacting the performative nature of the centennial, he prayed for the President of the Republic, Niceto Alcalá Zamora, and for Spain for "having restored the Hebrew language and Judaism for the first time since 1492."[154] This prayer may be understood as a way of both re-claiming membership in the Spanish *patria*, and possession over Spain's Jewish past, through reclaiming the Synagogue as a Jewish space and by demonstrating reverence for the current Spanish establishment. It is common for Jews to pray for their current home; thus this prayer asserts Jews as legitimate residents in Spain (again). Indeed, the reverberations of the event in the Jewish press seemed to indicate that part of the Spanish government's vision for the event was generally achieved, as the April 15th headline in the New York based ladino newspaper *La Vara* read: "The *Cherem* of 450 years against Spain is lifted."[155]

Nonetheless, the Jewish response to the commemorations in Córdoba was by no means monolithic, but rather was shaped by each particular community's contemporary situation and interests. The persistent entreaties of Albert Levy, editor of *La Vara*, to his readers to participate in the celebration, suggest a general sense of indifference regarding the event among the U.S. Sephardic community. On one occasion, Levy appealed to his readers by telling them that "even our brothers, the Ashkenazim of the United States . . . are making great preparations for the celebration."[156] For the majority of U.S. Sephardim, far removed from the conflict brewing on

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[154]"haber restorado la lengua hebrea y el judaísmo por la primera vez desde el 1492." *La Vara* (15 Apr. 1935).

[155]"El cherem de 450 años contra la España es levantada." Ibid.

[156] *La Vara,* 15 Feb. 1935.

European soil, solidarity with Spain, despite the lofty occasion, was clearly far removed from their immediate concerns.

The most serious challenge, however, came from the Jewish community in Palestine. Although some of the press coverage in Palestine certainly complemented the efforts of the Spanish government, the idea of a so-called "return" to Spain as a sort of Jewish homeland, even if only a symbolic one, and of embracing another form of nationalism, clearly conflicted with the goals of Zionism. Thus, the reverberations of the event in the Jewish press in Palestine were not entirely favorable. One such report cynically stated:

> A great nation has repented the sins it committed against the Jews. Do you not remember the Inquisition? The Autos de fe? The perverse inquisitor Torquemada? The Expulsion from Spain? Fernando and Isabel? Hundreds of years have gone by and our revenge has arrived because the speech of the Governor of Córdoba is an apology for the sins committed. It is evident that the thousands of Jews burnt and slaughtered for glorifying the name of God will not be resurrected by these words.[157]

The statement, which accentuated the tragic aspects of the Jewish past in Spain demanded a complete and honest accounting for this past and thus clearly viewed the idea of the "resurrection" of a tolerant Spain, proclaimed by the event's organizers, with deep suspicion.

The most telling critique of the commemorations came not from Jewish sources, but rather from one Córdoba resident, who published an opinion piece in the republican newspaper, *El Heraldo de Madrid* shortly after the conclusion of the centennial. According to Fabián Alcaide, author of the piece, titled "Notas de Córdoba: acerca de un centenario", the representations of the events in Córdoba in the national and local press were egregiously

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[157]"Un gran pueblo se ha arrepentido de sus pecados cometidos contra los judíos. ¿No os acordáis de la Inquisición?, ¿De los autos de fé?, ¿Del perverso Torquemada?, ¿De la expulsión de España?, ¿De Fernando y de Isabel? Centenares de años han transcurrido y nuestra revancha ha llegado porque el discurso que ha pronunciado el gobernador de Córdoba en una petición de perdón por los pecados cometidos. Es evidente que los millares de judíos quemados degollados por glorificar el nombre de Dios no serán resucitados por estas palabras." (Bust'nai, May 1935; cited in Lisbona, *Retorno a Sefarad*, 57)

misleading. For those residing in Córdoba, like himself, it was no surprise that "despite all of the optimism with which one attempts to masquerade this fact, the truth, and pardon the paradox, that the celebrations of this centennial were already born dead."[158] He moreover claimed that in Córdoba no-one was the slightest concerned with "honoring the memory of such an illustrious son"; the only ones to make sure that the date of Maimonides' birth "would not go unnoticed," were those who "in the silence of the study halls and libraries cultivate the disciplines of knowledge."[159] The results of this apathy were telling, Alcaide wrote, as the total number of participants who traveled to Córdoba for the occasion "never reached more than three dozen" despite earlier projections of "thousands of visitors from all over the world."[160]

Alcaide attributed his perception of the failure of the commemoration to several factors. Among them was what he considered the "manifest hostility of a large sector of the society who over the centuries was still troubled by the religion of the illustrious doctor." This hostility, Alcaide argued, was evident in the vote in the city council mandating what funds would be allocated to cover the costs of the centennial. Giving the lie to the image of peaceful "convivencia" (past and present) publicly communicated by the organizers and Jewish participants, Alcaide claimed that it was this very sentiment of hostility which detracted from the character of the events. Moreover, he indicated the absence of the "spirit of commercial

[158] "Pese a todos los optimismos con que trate de disfrazarse el hecho, la realidad, y valga la paradoja, es que las fiestas de este centenario ya nacían muertas." Fabián Alcaide, "Notas de Córdoba: acerca de un centenario", *El Heraldo de Madrid* (30 Mar. 1935).

[159] "Ni un instante ha habido en Córdoba preocupación por honrar la memoria de tan preclaro hijo y solamente los que en el silencio de las salas de estudio cultivan las disciplinas del entendimiento preocupáronse de que la fecha no pasase inadvertida." Ibid.

[160] Ibid.

organizing, indispensable to make the event a success." In this context he indicated the absence of touristic propaganda for the occasion, and of serious efforts to publicize the event abroad.[161]

Upon reading this scathing critique of the commemoration, one may ask how such disparate impressions of the commemoration were possible. Alcaide was after all a resident of Córdoba who was present in the city during the entire *semana de Maimónides* and his account does not appear to strike any false notes, but rather frustration. Upon closer examination however, there is an additional aspect to Alcaide's account which may provide further insight: Alcaide refers ironically to the "imaginative power" of the organizers in creating such a great sensation about what turned out to be, in his eyes, much ado about nothing.[162] It even got to the point, he wrote, that there was "talk of the attendance of the head of state, several ministers and other politicians of stature, but we already witnessed what really took place."[163] Moreover, visitors he knew who arrived in Córdoba to attend the events recounted having spent their entire time roaming the streets of Córdoba's old *judería* (Jewish quarter) "with the vain hope of seeing the descendants of its habitants."[164] Alcaide ironically portrayed visitors to Córdoba spending more time searching for imaginary Jews or their apparitions, rather than interacting with the Sephardic guests who actually attended the affair; and Cordoban residents hopefully awaiting the

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[161]"Dejando aparte la manifiesta hostilidad de un crecido sector de la población en el que todavía, a través de los siglos, pesaba la confesionalidad del ilustre médico, como pudo observarse al votar el Ayuntamiento la subvención para atender a los gastos del centenarios, hostilidad que ya de por sí ha de ser restado concurrencia a los actos, no se ha hecho propaganda turística alguna del acontecimiento que se iba a celebrar. Ha faltado ese espíritu organizador comercial indispensable para el éxito. Es más: creemos que no se ha hecho conocer en el Extranjero el programa de fiestas, ni las facilidades para desplazarse a Córdoba, ni las comodidades que ésta pudiera ofrecer." Ibid.

[162]"!Oh, poder imaginativo de los organizadores de la conmemoración!" Ibid.

[163]"Aquí, donde hasta se llegó a hablar de la asistencia del jefe del Estado, de algunos ministros y de otros altos personajes políticos, ya hemos visto lo que ha ocurrido." Ibid.

[164]"Amigos tenemos que se han pasado las horas vagando por las calles de la Judería con la esperanza frustrada de ver a los descendientes de los moradores del barrio." Ibid.

arrival of the leaders of the Republic to grace their city with their message of peace and prosperity rather than actively partaking in the commemorative rites of the centennial. These observations thus serve to remind us of the limits of the commemoration in its reach and ability to foster a shared vision of a Spanish patria. Nonetheless, they also serve to reaffirm the significance of the "imaginative power" governing the 'official' commemorative events in including and excluding visions of the patria, as well as its imagined members.

Cynically, one may moreover conclude that the centennial, given the moment it took place in Spanish history amid mounting tensions, represented the enactment of a tragic farce. The acts of remembering and forgetting in themselves may be viewed as testament to the acute awareness of the contending and divisive visions of the nation's past. As Carolyn Boyd concludes in her study of the politics governing another Spanish commemoration: "In the Spanish experience…the politics of commemoration served to disrupt and divide rather than forge bonds of social and political solidarity."[165] It may well be that the Maimonides commemoration made more cultural and political sense when it was conceived—in 1933, when there still seemed to be some chance, however remote, that political moderation could prevail—than when it took place. By mid-1934, right-wing civil governors throughout Andalusia and Spain were engaged in the energetic persecution and detention of republican and socialist leaders. While Córdoba was a principal base for the Andalusian left, the crushing of the Asturian rebellion in October exacerbated political tensions, and pushed the Lerroux republicans further into the arms of CEDA. By 1935, an event that might have seemed political useful, and viable,

[165]Carolyn Boyd, "The Second Battle of Covadonga: The Politics of Commemoration in Modern Spain," *History and Memory* 14:2 (Spring-Winter 2002): 37-64.

just a year previous, might have lost much of its credibility in the eyes of many local observers and participants.[166]

Leaving cynicism aside however, the commemoration provided a forum (not unlike the pages of the *Gaceta Literaria* in its initial phase) for Spaniards and Jews to imagine, articulate, and enact their visions of a new Spain capable of rising ('again') from the ashes of history to enable a better future. However, this vision remained fragile, as the efforts of the Republic were to fail, not due to the lack of success or failure of the commemoration, but rather, to the demise of the Republic, the outbreak of the Spanish civil war the following year and Franco's victory. Nonetheless, even though Republican Spain and the government that organized the celebration would soon fall, the commemorative plaque would remain and efforts to re-claim the Jewish past would continue under Franco's government and beyond.

In conclusion, what is interesting about this particular commemoration, beyond a mere study of the politics governing public commemorations, is that it involved multiple actors from within and without the "Nation", in the imagining of Spain as a *Patria* that might once again include the descendants of the Jews expelled in 1492. These rather disparate visions of the *Patria* intermingled over the course of this event, as Spaniards and Sephardim formed a shared vision of Spain, one that coincided, in some ways, with the *Patria* envisioned and publicized by government officials in a time of crisis. This vision and hence the centennial, just like Giménez Caballero´s gestures to the Sephardim and those of the Spanish government to A.S. Yahuda, were as much about forgetting and rewriting history in order to accent the positive, as about remembering: forgetting the Inquisition and the Expulsion, but remembering "convivencia" and the possibilities it seemed to represent.

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[166]Moa Pío, *El derrumbe de la Segunda* República, and Stanley Payne *Spain's First Democracy*. I am grateful to Richard Maddox for several of these points. Richard Maddox, personal communication.

The study of these three distinct cases of academic, cultural and political Sephardism, thus reveal that while the recovery of the Jewish past in Spain had become more established over the course of the mid to late nineteenth-century, it had also became more politically contested. The interest in recovering Spain's Jewish past now met a growing politicization of Spain's "Jewish question" as a public concern, in ways that did not resolve, but rather intensified the ambivalence that had always marked Spain's reencounter with "Sepharad"; while it also marked the deepening fissures in Spanish visions of the Patria**.**

Conclusion

> The two volumes of source material contain not only detailed bibliographical information, but also expressions of appreciation of the Spanish scholars who brought to light, out of the treasures which lay hidden in their archives, a great many documents that reveal the past of the segment of the Jewish people which found its home in Spain.
>
> —Yitzhak Baer, A History of the Jews in Christian Spain

In 1940, the year after the Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), and under the government of Francisco Franco and with its support, the Instituto Arias Montano de estudios hebraicos, sefardíes y de Oriente Próximo (the Arias Montano Institute of Hebraic, Sephardic and Near Eastern Studies) was founded as part of Spain's principal national research institute, the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid (CSIC). In 1941, the Instituto Arias Montano began to publish the journal *Sefarad* dedicated to Sephardic history, language and literature, as well as Hebrew and Aramaic philology, and biblical criticism.

This formal institutionalization of the recovery of the Jewish past, however, coexisted with the Franco regime's habitual declarations of a "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy" plaguing Spain.[1] The conjuncture of the establishment of Sephardic Studies as a formal discipline of scholarly inquiry in Spain with the rise of National Catholicism and the anti-semitism of the Franco regime accentuates the highly ambivalent relationship of modern Spain to its Jewish past. As I have illustrated through this study, from the middle of nineteenth century through the first third of the twentieth century, Spanish attempts at constructing and claiming a usable Jewish past were similarly riddled with paradoxes. My exploration of a spectrum of scholarly, political and cultural initiatives to recover the Jewish past, as a critical component of and contribution to historia patria, reveals that such paradoxes may be located within the emergence of Spanish

[1] See Isabelle Rohr, *The Spanish Right* and Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España* for discussions of the antisemitism of the Franco regime.

liberalism; a political process which proved highly fractured, engendering enduring hostilities inextricably linked to longstanding perceptions of Spain as a foundationally Catholic nation.

While the fractured emergence and nature of the liberal Spanish nation-state serves as a point of departure and nexus for the case studies and specific contexts presented in the four chapters of this dissertation, I have also demonstrated how quite diverse and particular sets of circumstances, as well as individual identities, came to shape such paradoxes and ambiguities. My exploration of the pioneering efforts of Amador de los Ríos in writing the first modern history of the Jews of Spain, has demonstrated how through his incipient efforts and the varied reactions they elicited, Spain's Sephardic past entered the domain of Spanish historia patria. I demonstrate how Amador de los Ríos' grapplings with the Sephardic past were hindered by his repeated attempts to reconcile his Liberalism with his firmly Catholic vision of the patria. At the same time, particularly through my exploration of how Amador de los Ríos and Jewish scholars engaged with each other's work, I show that we owe much of the initial modern Jewish historiography on the Jews of Spain to Amador de los Rios' early research into the topi,. Amador de los Rios' scholarship on the Jews became a focal point of the influential appeal presented to the Spanish Constituent Cortes in 1854 by Ludwig Philippson, in a moment that I argue exemplified the emergence of a modern Spanish variant of the so-called 'Jewish Question'— one which involved deliberation over the place of the Jews in the Spanish patria, as well as debate over who exactly should be entitled to make claims to and over the recovery of Spain's Sephardic past. Finally, I have argued that this initial exchange of ideas, and particularly the Wissenschaft des Judentums scholars' emphasis on Sephardic exceptionalism, led to the development of a Spanish trope of Sephardic superiority in which the Sephardic Jew was considered superior to other Jews due to his contact with Spaniards.

Through my study of the turn to Hebraism at Spain's Real Academia de la Historia and its *Boletín*, especially under the directorship of Hebraist Fidel Fita y Colomé, I have illustrated how the recovery of the Jewish past became central to the collaborative efforts of its scholars and the Spanish Restoration state. My exploration of Fita and others' tireless work with original Hebrew inscriptions and other documents in some way connected to the Jewish past, alongside their advocacy for the reclamation and preservation of Jewish archeological monuments, has moreover demonstrated the further institutionalization of the study of the Jewish past in Spain and its incorporation into Spain's official *historia patria,* the historiography generated under the auspices of Spain's Restoration regime (1875-1918). I have also illustrated how this endeavor entailed and even thrived on transnational scholarly collaboration with Jewish and non-Jewish scholars throughout the European continent. In the case of Fidel Fita I have argued that his interest in the recovery of the Sephardic past was marked by an ambivalent positivism—one that would allow him and perhaps other scholars ways to circumvent polemics and operate at a level of subtlety which sidestepped official Restoration politics, even as it seemed to open fissures in dominant conceptions of official historia patria in Restoration Spain and beyond.

My examination of the work of orientalist Francisco Fernández y González on the Sephardic past from the same period further illuminates the broad range of conceptions of Spanish historia patria at this time. In the case of Fernández y González, whose intellectual formation was grounded in liberal Krausism, I have illustrated the central place the Jews and the Jewish past came to hold in the construction of a national historical narrative based on the notion of a foundational Hebraic Iberian hybridity and the critical influence of the work of the Wissenschaft des Judentums in its elaboration. I have also argued that Fernández y González's Hebraic Orientalism served as a counter-narrative to what is often presented as the hegemonic or

'official' version of national history elaborated in nineteenth-century Spain and suggest the pioneering influence of his ideas on subsequent discussions of "convivencia." In this context I have also considered some of the fervent, oppositional responses to such notions of Hebraic Iberian hybridity, which, I have argued, manifested an incipient neo-Catholicism based around the revival of Iberian Christian purity. While such views were advanced in opposition to each other, I have, however, argued that divergent visions of Iberian purity and hybridity were similarly grounded in racialist views of the Jews and the Jewish past, which formed the basis of nationalist projects across the ideological spectrum.[2]

Through my study of philo-Sephardic campaigns and institutional developments in Sephardic studies during the early twentieth century, I have revealed both the far-reaching influence of the earlier Spanish scholarship and debate over the Jewish past and the contradictions that continued to characterize such acts of recovery. My focus on several distinct efforts of this nature have also exposed the ways the increased participation of Jewish individuals in such projects further highlighted the ambivalence of the reencounter of Spain with is Jewish past. My discussion of the tenure of the Jewish Jerusalem born scholar, Abraham S. Yahuda, as the First Chair of "Rabbinical Language and Literature and the History of the Jews of Spain" at the University of Madrid from 1914-1922, and reactions to his Jewishness, has demonstrated how even as efforts to institutionalize the study of the Sephardic past intensified, the identity of those engaged in such acts of recovery continued to be the subject of an uneasy tension, triggering debates marked by overtones of antisemitism.

Similarly, my study of the Sephardist efforst of Ernesto Giménez Caballero and other contributors of the *Gaceta Literaria* has illustrated the central role of "Sepharad" in the efforts of

[2] See also Susan Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations* and Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood* for discussions of the ways racialist thinking in nineteenth and early twentieth century Spain spanned a range of political affiliations.

Spain's political and intellectual vanguard to elaborate a vision of a New Spain and Hispanic identity, or Hispanidad, as a panacea to perceptions of Spanish decline after the "Disaster" of 1898. I also illuminate the convergence of the Jewish Wissenchaft with the Spanish trope of Sephardic superiority—though in this context conjoined to an explicitly racialized and antisemitic depiction of Ashkenazi Jews, alongside the effacement of the traumas of the expulsion of and the Inquisition. I have moreover demonstrated how the coexistence of divergent points of view in Giménez Caballero's work—including Catholic nationalism, cosmopolitanism, antisemitism and Sephardism—and his convoluted trajectory towards fascism, allow us to begin to infer the possible connections between these positions in the context of Spanish fascism.

My discussion of the official commemoration of the eight centennial of the birth of Maimonides in Córdoba in 1935 has demonstrated how the appropriation of the Sephardic past and the advocacy of cultural Sephardism continued during a time of acute national and regional crises for the Spanish Republic, in the hopes of fostering an image of a tolerant Spain through the imagining and performance of Spain as a *patria* that might once again include the descendants of the Jews expelled in 1492. My examination of the politics governing the commemoration also illuminates the official silencing of the traumatic aspects of Spain's Jewish past even in the presence of, and with the collaboration of, multiple Ashkenazi and Sephardic participants. At the same time, other Jewish and Spanish observers reacted to the commemoration by expressing deep suspicions.

Through this study of Spanish attempts to reclaim Spain's Jewish past in the modern era, I hope to have also provided important insights into Spain's encounter with modernity itself. One may argue that the Sephardic past and Spain's Jewishness served both as a foundation and

as a vehicle for Spanish attempts to make claims to a modern national identity. Within the wider European setting, Spain continued to be viewed as Europe's consummate 'other': as a backwater in a perpetual state of decline, as well as the seductive entity whose multiethnic history and proximity to Africa had inspired endless romanticized tales of travel and banditry in the romantic tradition. Spanish intellectuals made tireless attempts to challenge such perceptions in order to "reclaim" Spain's place as a serious contender in the orbit of modern European expansion and preeminence. Many Spaniards, and especially those discussed in this study, arrived at the view however, that such attempts would necessitate the self-acceptance, or even embrace, of Spain's "difference." The work of Amador de los Ríos, Fidel Fita, Francisco Fernández y González, Ernesto Giménez Caballero and the planners of the Maimonides commemoration, thus all expose the ways the Jewish past proved particularly attractive for attempts to find new ways to feature Spain's exceptionalism as well as its universalist appeal (attempts that were not mutually exclusive). In essence, it was Spain's Jewishness that may have offered the hope of making Spain more European. Moreover, Jewish history and the Jewish condition more broadly conceived (than that of the Sephardic past) seemed to offer a paradigm that helped to explain the Spanish condition; the fates of the two peoples were intertwined, whether providentially, or antagonistically. Finally, as I have argued, the study of these initiatives helps to illuminate the close relationship between the recovery of the Jewish past and that of the Muslim past in Modern Spain. Better understanding of the relationship between these two branches of Spanish Orientalism (Arabism and Hebraism), might help us gain a better understanding of contemporary appropriations of the Moorish and Jewish pasts.[3]

[3]On contemporary appropriations of the Muslim and Jewish past see Daniela Flesler, *The Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration* (West Lafayette, 2008), Daniela Flesler and Adrián Pérez Melgosa, "Battles of Identity, or Playing 'Guest' and 'Host': the Festivals of Moors and Christians in the Context of Moroccan Immigration to Spain," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 4:2 (2003): 151-168; Daniela

As much of this study has revealed, nineteenth and early twentieth century debates over Spain's Jewish past prove unique when considered alongside other European secularist national ideologies of the same era. In Spain, by contrast with countries like France and Germany, they were marked by firmly Catholic ideology and religious rhetoric. As I have demonstrated, in Spain we find the interplay of medieval and early modern debates over Jewish conversion to Christianity, Enlightenment debates over Jewish emancipation and re-admittance to European territory, and nefarious modern debates over the presumably inassimilable racial character of the Jews. It is this uniquely Catholic Spanish interplay of seemingly disparate debates that helps to illuminate the ambivalence of the deeper history of the recovery of the Jewish past in Spain—a history which owes much to the idea of a united Catholic Spain, and one that would reach its apogee under Spanish fascism. Only through recovering this longer and deeper history may one fully comprehend how such attempts to recover Spain's Jewish past, from the nineteenth-century to the present, have been marked by a similar ambivalence—one linked, perhaps, to deeper political and cultural fractures in Spanish national identity.

The work of José Amador de los Ríos, Fidel Fita, Francisco Fernández y González and other scholars at the Real Academia de la Historia and Spain's universities provided a firm basis for the work of future scholars, as Yitzhak Baer recognized in his classic study. This examination of diverse efforts to recover Jewish Spain has suggested that no such acts of historical recovery—whether in past or present—can be entirely innocent of the politics that drives them. Nonetheless, the particular politics of the histories and historians discussed in this study did not

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Flesler and Adrián Pérez Melgosa, "Marketing *Convivencia*: Contemporary Tourist Appropriations of Spain's Jewish Past", Eugenia Afinoguénova and Jaume Martí-Olivella, eds., *Spain is (Still) Different: Tourism and Discourse in Spanish Cultural Identity* (Lanham, 2008), 63-84; Daniela Flesler and Adrián Pérez Melgosa, "Hervás, *Convivencia*, and the Heritagization of Spain's Jewish Past," *Journal of Romance Studies* 10: 2 (2010): 53-76; Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations*; and Simon R. Doubleday and David Coleman, eds., *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past* (New York, 2008).

prevent others from drawing on these for other (and even opposing) politics and uses. As a result, dynamic conversations emerged between scholars, Jewish and Spanish alike, across political frontiers and great spans of time, which made possible the reclamation of historical sources, historiography and history itself, under different sets of concerns, in acts of recovery that were never reducible to or entirely constrained by the politics of the moment. While power might have influenced their attempts to know history, this study has demonstrated that no single authority had the power to control the uses to which that history might be put by others.

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